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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

ALGERIA, MOROCCO
(French and Spanish Zones)

TANGIER
(International Zone)
AND TUNISIA

PART 4

January to December 1955

CONFIDENTIAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	SUBJECT	Page
Chapter I.—ALGERIA			
General Correspondence			
1 Mr. Wakefield-Harrey No. 2	1955 Jan. 21	Political report ... Period October–December, 1954	1
2 Sir Gladwyn Jebb ... No. 60	Feb. 11	Account of the debate on the North African policy of M. Mendès-France ...	4
3 Mr. Wakefield-Harrey No. 15	April 6	Political and economic implications of the Algerian Budget, 1954–55 ...	7
4 Mr. Wakefield-Harrey No. 16	April 14	Review of events in Algeria for the three months' period ending March 31, 1955 ...	9
5 To Sir Gladwyn Jebb (Paris) No. 343	June 10	Views on present French difficulties in Algeria ... Most of France's difficulties due to their policy of "Algeria is France"; need for France to seek a new solution; possible solution in the granting to the Moslems of a bigger share in the administration and in the drawing up of a phased programme of advance towards Algerian home rule.	12
6 Sir Gladwyn Jebb ... No. 254	July 7	The prospects for a new French policy towards Algeria ... Notable improvement in the atmosphere in North Africa likely to follow any French offer of an advance towards home rule; small likelihood at present of any reversal of the policy represented by the slogan "Algeria is France."	14
7 Mr. Dugdale ... No. 32	July 8	Review of events in Algeria for the quarter ending June 30, 1955 ...	18
8 Sir Pierson Dixon ... (1) No. 880 Tel.	Sept. 30	Debate in the United Nations General Assembly on Algeria ... M. Pinay states that French Government would regard as non-existent any recommendation which the Assembly might make.	23
(2) No. 890 Tel.	Sept. 30	United Kingdom representative makes clear attitude of United Kingdom in the matter.	
Appendix—Biographical Notes			
9 Mr. Dugdale ... No. 33	1955 July 12	Annual report on the leading personalities ...	25
Chapter II.—MOROCCO (FRENCH ZONE)			
General Correspondence			
10 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 8	1955 Jan. 3	Quarterly report, September–December 1954 ...	31
11 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 21	Mar. 28	Trade unionism and the Government's proposal to introduce trade union legislation ...	35

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	SUBJECT	Page
12 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 22	1955 April 4	Visit of M. Pierre July, Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, to Morocco, April 1–4, 1955 ...	38
13 Rabat ...	April 7	French Morocco—Quarterly report, Period January–March 1955 ...	40
14 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 24	April 29	Second visit of M. July, French Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, to Morocco, April 19–26, 1955 ... Account of arrival and details of programme of events.	43
15 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 38	July 1	Report on the departure of M. Lacoste, with a survey of his term of office and an account of local reactions to the appointment of his successor, M. Grandval ...	46
16 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 39	July 8	Report on the arrival at Rabat on July 7, 1955, of the new Resident-General of Morocco, M. Gilbert Grandval, accompanied by three of his new senior officials ...	48
17 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 40	July 8	Political report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended June 30, 1955 ...	50
18 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 56	Aug. 26	Summary of events in the French Zone of Morocco for the period, August 15 to 26 inclusive ...	55
19 Intel ... No. 156	Sept. 3	Events in Morocco and Algeria ...	57
20 Mr. Hartley ... No. 66	Sept. 23	Summary of events in the French Zone of Morocco for the period, August 27 to September 20 inclusive ...	59
21 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 71	Oct. 7	Calendar of political events relating to the French Zone of Morocco for the period, September 21 to October 7, 1955, inclusive ...	62
22 To Sir Gladwyn Jebb (Paris) No. 615	Oct. 11	Conversation between the Secretary of State and the French Ambassador on October 11, 1955 ... Discussion on the problems of Morocco and Algeria.	64
23 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 73	Oct. 19	Report on the installation of the Moroccan Council of the Throne, October 18, 1955 ...	65
24 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 75	Oct. 21	Quarterly report on political events in French Morocco for the period ended September 30, 1955 ...	66
25 Sir Gladwyn Jebb ... No. 407	Oct. 26	Report by Her Majesty's Minister on his tour of Morocco, October 1955 ...	73
26 Mr. Hartley ... No. 81	Nov. 7	Reflections on the impending return of Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef to Morocco ... Sultan's views now thought to be more moderate; no overtures made so far to the extreme nationalists.	82
27 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 84	Nov. 14	Arrival of new Resident-General, M. Dubois ...	84
28 Sir Gladwyn Jebb ... No. 432	Nov. 16	The return of Sultan Ben Youssef and its likely repercussions ... French Government forced to bow to the pressure of events; immediate cause of French change of policy the decision of El Glaoui to support the Sultan; France now to decide just how much of her rights in Morocco she is prepared to relinquish.	85

CONFIDENTIAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	SUBJECT	Page
29 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 87	1955 Nov. 19	Return of Sultan Ben Youssef: Speech from the Throne ... An era of freedom and independence promised; a responsible representative Moroccan Government to be set up and close ties of friendship with France to be maintained.	88
30 Mr. Freese-Pennefather No. 91	Dec. 2	Consultations preceding the formation of a Moroccan Government ... Consultations for the nominations of a President of the Council; Sultan conducts negotiations with representatives of political parties, trade unions and other bodies.	92

Chapter III.—MOROCCO (SPANISH ZONE)

General Correspondence

31 Mr. Pyman No. 1	1955 Jan. 3	Administrative changes in Spanish Morocco ... Creation of new Ministry of Social Affairs; requirements of the Nationalists not met by the changes; no real power conferred on any Moorish official or Department.	95
32 Mr. Pyman No. 2	Jan. 4	Spanish Morocco: Annual report, 1954 ...	97
33 Mr. Pyman No. 3	Jan. 5	Spanish Morocco: Quarterly report, October-December 1954	100
34 Mr. Pyman No. 7	Jan. 18	Spanish Morocco—appointment of Ministers ...	102
35 Mr. Pyman No. 9	Feb. 2	Appointment of a Nationalist, Si Mohammed Tanji, as Secretary-General of the Ministry of Social Affairs ...	103
36 Mr. Pyman No. 18	April 1	Political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended March 31, 1955 ...	104
37 Mr. Pyman No. 29	July 1	Political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended June 30, 1955 ...	106
38 Mr. Pyman No. 51	Oct. 4	Political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended September 30, 1955 ...	108

Appendix—Biographical Notes

39 Mr. Pyman No. 45	1955 Sept. 26	Leading personalities in the Spanish Zone of Morocco ...	[1
---------------------	---------------	--	-----

Chapter IV.—TANGIER (INTERNATIONAL ZONE)

General Correspondence

40 Mr. Muntz No. 2	1955 Jan. 4	Tangier: Quarterly report, October-December 1954 ...	111
41 Mr. Muntz No. 3	Jan. 4	Annual review for 1954 ...	115

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. and Name	Date	SUBJECT	Page
42 Mr. Muntz No. 30	1955 April 7	Political report on Tangier for the quarter ended March 31, 1955	120
43 Mr. Scott No. 55	July 4	Political report on Tangier for the quarter ended June 30, 1955	123
44 To Sir Roger Makins (Washington) No. 639	Oct. 6	Conversation between the Secretary of State and Mr. Julius Holmes, United States Consul-General in Tangier on October 6, 1955 ... Mr. Holmes explains American thoughts on North Africa; French opposition to reasonable Islamic nationalism considered to be a policy certain of failure.	126
45 Mr. Muntz No. 55	Oct. 10	Political report on Tangier for the quarter ended September 30, 1955 ...	127

Appendix—Biographical Notes

46 Mr. Muntz No. 71	1955 Sept. 7	Report on leading personalities in Tangier, 1955 ...	131
47 Mr. Muntz No. 80	Oct. 5	Annual report on the heads of foreign missions ...	(1)

Chapter V.—TUNISIA

General Correspondence

48 Mr. Williams No. 14	1955 Feb. 3	Quarterly review, November 1954-January 1955 ...	137
49 Mr. Williams No. 31	April 20	Visit of Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris to Tunis, April 12-18, 1955 ...	140
50 Mr. Williams No. 34	May 2	Political report ... Period February 1-April 30, 1955.	141
51 Sir Gladwyn Jebb No. 173	May 10	Her Majesty's Ambassador's visit to Tunisia and Algeria, April 12-23, 1955... Comments and conclusions.	144
52 Intel No. 95	May 23	The Franco-Tunisian Agreement ... Concluded on April 21, 1955, with the signing by the two delegations of a protocol that agreement had been reached in principle on the General Agreement.	148
53 Mr. Pell No. 53	Aug. 8	Review of political events in Tunisia for the quarter ended July 31, 1955 ...	151
54 Mr. Williams No. 74	Nov. 4	Review of political events in Tunisia for the three months ended October 31, 1955 ...	153

Appendix—Biographical Notes

55 Mr. Williams No. 44	1955 June 30	Annual report on the leading personalities ...	[1
------------------------	--------------	--	-----

CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT INDEX

[The figures denote the serial numbers of the documents]

- ALGERIA**
- Annual report on leading personalities—9.
- Budget for 1954-55—
Political and economic implications of the—3.
- French difficulties in Algeria—5.
- French policy towards Algeria—6, 8 (1) and 8 (2).
- M. Mendès-France—
Account of the debate on the North African policy of—2.
- Political report, October-December 1954—1.
- Problems of Algeria—
Discussions between the Secretary of State and the French Ambassador on October 11, 1955—23.
- Review of events—
Quarter ended March 31, 1955—4.
Quarter ended June 30, 1955—7.
- MOROCCO (FRENCH ZONE)**
- Council of the Throne—
Installation on October 18—23.
- M. Dubois—
Appointment as Resident-General—27.
- French North Africa and recent events in Morocco and Algeria—19.
- M. Grandval—
Appointment as Resident-General—15.
- M. Pierre July, Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs—
Visit to Morocco, April 1-4, 1955—12.
Visit to Morocco, April 19-26, 1955—14.
- M. Pierre July—
Report on his arrival at Rabat on July 7, 1955—16.
- M. Lacoste, Resident-General—
Departure from Rabat on the conclusion of his term of office—15.
- Moroccan Government—
Consultation preceding the formation of the—30.
- Political reports—
September-December 1954—10.
January-March 1955—13.
April-June 1955—17.
July-September 1955—24.
- Problems of Morocco—
Discussion between the Secretary of State and the French Ambassador on October 11, 1955—22.
- Review of events—
August 15-26, 1955—18.
August 27-September 20, 1955—20.
September 21-October 7, 1955—21.
- Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef—
Impending return to Morocco—26.
Return and its likely repercussions—28.
Speech from the throne—29.
- Tour of Morocco by Sir Gladwyn Jebb, October 1955—25.
- Trade unionism in Morocco—11.
- MOROCCO (SPANISH ZONE)**
- Administrative changes in Spanish Morocco—31.
- Annual report for 1954—32.
- Appointment of Ministers in Spanish Morocco—24.
- Annual report on leading personalities—39.
- Mohammed Tanji, Sir—
Appointment as Secretary-General of Ministry of Social Affairs—35.
- Political report for quarter—
October-December 1954—33.
January-March 1955—36.
April-June 1955—37.
July-September 1955—38.
- TANGIER (INTERNATIONAL ZONE)**
- Annual report on heads of foreign missions—47.
- Annual report on leading personalities—46.
- Annual review for 1954—41.
- French policy in North Africa—
Conversation between the Secretary of State and Mr. Julius Holmes, United States Consul-General in Tangier on October 6, 1955—44.
- Political reports—
October-December 1954—40.
January-March 1955—42.
April-June 1955—43.
July-September 1955—45.
- TUNISIA**
- Annual report on leading personalities—55.
- Franco-Tunisian Agreement—52.
- Political reports—
November 1954-January 1955—48.
February-April 1955—50.
May-July 1955—53.
August-October 1955—54.
- Visit of Sir Gladwyn Jebb to Tunis, April 12-18, 1955—49 and 51.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING
ALGERIA, MOROCCO (FRENCH AND SPANISH ZONES), TANGIER
(INTERNATIONAL ZONE) AND TUNISIA—PART 4

CHAPTER I.—ALGERIA
GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JF 1013/2

No. 1

POLITICAL REPORT: OCTOBER-DECEMBER 1954

Mr. Wakefield-Harrey to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received January 25)

(No. 2. Restricted)
Sir,

*Algiers,
January 21, 1955.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith a survey of political events in Algeria for the quarter ending the 15th of January.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tunis, Rabat, Tangier and Tetuan, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) at Malta.

I have, &c.

C. O. WAKEFIELD-HARREY.

REVIEW OF EVENTS IN ALGERIA FOR THREE MONTHS' PERIOD
ENDING JANUARY 15, 1955

1. Nationalism

Although the larger bands of rebels operating in the wilder regions have for the most part been dispersed by military action, large areas still remain unsettled and it seems as though banditry will persist there for some time to come. Paratroopers have quite recently been killed in ambushes within a few miles of Arris in the Aurès, which has been the headquarters of important military forces since early in November. Military action, still continuing on a large scale in the Constantine department, has unquestionably disrupted native life in the countryside, and the result has been to increase racial animosity and leave the population in a sullen state and disinclined, either from fear or set purpose, to co-operate. Arson and attacks on European farms have diminished but murders of native policemen and of prominent pro-French Moslem notables continue. The Aurès still remains an area of major insecurity where movement by private persons involves risk. The insecurity of the countryside as a whole is perhaps not as serious as the European population imagines, but the situation is having a remarkable effect on life here, few persons moving about after nightfall. Cinemas in Algiers, generally frequented at night by people from the neighbouring countryside, are very thinly attended and the industry has been considering discontinuing night performances. In the west the situation is easier, though a large number of arrests have been made in the Oran department in connexion with an uprising being allegedly fomented there in connexion with Moroccan elements. A church was recently desecrated and fired near Oran.

Repressive police action has been widespread; arrests still continue and now total several thousands. They reached a second climax just before Christmas when reports were that a Christmas rising was being planned. The credence given to these rumours seems to have been heightened by nervousness, but the opportunity was taken to carry out some hundreds of further arrests. All previous M.T.L.D. members of the Algerian Assembly have now been arrested together with four deputy Mayors of Algiers, also members of the party. Notorious members of the Messali faction of the party have also been arrested on their arrival at Algiers from France. Lahouel, the leader of the Algerian faction, is reported fled to Cairo.

Kiouane, his deputy, who is a barrister, awaits trial. Kiouane is to be defended "d'office" by Maître Morinaud, lately head of the Algiers bar and president of the Franco-Muslim Association. M. Morinaud refused to accept the assignment if, as was proposed, he was to be associated with M. Nordman, a Communist member of the Paris bar, and Kiouane has agreed to refuse Nordman's offer. The charge against the arrested M.T.L.D. members is that they formed a part of, or had knowledge of, the clandestine branch of the party. One can say that no member of the party of any consequence remains at large. In addition, nationalists outside the party have been severely dealt with. 13 "terrorists" were sentenced at Oran on the 20th of December to terms of imprisonment ranging from 2 to 10 years, and to fines up to 4 million francs in each case. The accused were students of a Koranic school at Mostaganem, seat of the Senoussi tribe, and were evidently young men of well-to-do families. The charge against them was that of carrying arms and making preparations to co-operate in outrages. These draconic sentences were doubtless intended to impress the Oulamas.

U.D.M.A. still continues in existence, and none of its leading members appears to have been arrested. Its news sheet continues to appear; its general line is to belittle the proposed reforms as "mere crumbs" and to stigmatise as "indecent" the brutal reaction of the colons. Recently M. Ferhat Abbas, the party leader, was in Paris where he was very outspoken in a public debate in the presence of M. Bidault and other personalities. Tolerance of this party (though its programme, by a ruling of the President may not be debated in the Algerian Assembly), exonerates the authorities from any charge of having suppressed all freedom of Moslem opinion.

It is evident that the general political situation has seriously deteriorated since November. Although action by the troops appears in general to have been humane, there have doubtless been individual excesses and these have led to great embitterment. Murder and counter-murder, which still continue, particularly between Moslems, are not conducive to appeasement or to political reform, and it appears very doubtful whether any steps in that direction will be possible for some time.

2. Communism

There has been growing insistence in Algeria that the P.C.A. be made illegal as it is now serving as a "double" for the dissolved M.T.L.D. On the 15th of December the Vice-President of the Algerian Assembly gave a Press conference in Paris in which he called for the abolition of the Algiers Communist Party—mainly on the grounds that it was recruiting all ex-members of the M.T.L.D.—and voiced astonishment that this should be permitted. Similar sentiments have been repeatedly expressed in debate in the Algerian Assembly.

The tone of the Communist Party itself seems a little less aggressive, probably to avoid provoking arrests of prominent members at this juncture. Party publications have not benefitted much. The sales of *La Liberté*, the weekly paper, were recently reported to exceed 400 copies in the Constantine department, and those of another Communist weekly, *L'Algérie Libre*, which is intended for Moslem readers, as having risen to the figure of 90 copies. These numbers are interesting in that they reveal that the Press in this largely illiterate territory can only play a secondary role in the spread of Communist propaganda. A much more effective medium and one commonly used by the party here, is that of village briefings regularly carried out.

16 members of the Spanish Communist Party, who were arrested in August 1954, have now been sentenced to terms of imprisonment up to three months for participating in a foreign political organisation, which is illegal under the decree of 1950, and the party itself has been dissolved.

3. Prison Conditions

Despite the singularly precise details given in *Le Monde* regarding tortures practised by the police in Algiers, the Commission investigating these allegations has made a preliminary report to the effect that those charges brought to its notice have shown themselves to be unfounded, but that the enquiry is proceeding and any police official found guilty of such practices will be severely dealt with. However this may be, there is no doubt that prison conditions must be severe, particularly in Kabylia, where large numbers of arrests have been made and prisons are few.

4. Algerian Assembly

The debates in November on the political situation have been reported separately.

In December the Assembly debated and approved its modified budget. The changes are minor only and do not affect the general tenor of the budget already provided. The figures, as finally approved, are as follows:—

Ordinary Budget				Francs
Receipts	...	...	...	90,345,160,000
Expenditure	...	...	...	90,328,028,000
Excess Receipts				17,132,000
Extraordinary Budget				
Receipts	...	...	...	39,437,755,000
Expenditure	...	...	...	39,437,755,000

The increase on the preliminary figures amounts to 2.5 milliards or about 2 per cent. This does not include expenditure in connexion with the earthquake, which was dealt with in a special account presented in October. Increased expenditure concerns mainly credits for the railway, posts, and "allocations familiales." On the revenue side a shortfall in the receipts so far in respect of "taxes des affaires" has caused some disquiet.

On the 10th of January there was a by-election in the Bordj Menaïel constituency of the Algiers department for a seat in the Algerian Assembly. M. Mermier, a nominee of those members of the National Assembly who are averse to M. Mitterrand's proposed reforms, was comfortably in the leading position though he did not secure an absolute majority. The other candidates have withdrawn before the second ballot in the interests of national unity.

5. Labour

There have been repeated short strikes by dock workers in the port of Algiers during the period which have caused some delay and inconvenience to ships but have not closed the port as the authorities have generally authorised the use of casual labour. Strikes have been for various reasons. Some were against the use of fork-lift trucks and other labour-saving devices; others were for improved wages and conditions, in particular for the equal treatment on social security matters for private and public employees.

Labour has in general been restive, and unemployment continues to be serious. The Orléansville earthquake, while giving employment to much casual labour, has resulted in a closure of several small factories there, some of which are not likely to re-open. A depressing feature is the inability of local industry to expand. A textile factory has recently been shut down at Tlemcen and thrown 500 people out of work.

6. Visits

M. Mitterrand was in Algiers in October when he first expounded his proposed reforms to the Algerian Assembly. He again visited the country in November and inspected the operations in the Aurès.

Admiral Lord Mountbatten visited Algiers on the 12th of November to take leave of the French Naval Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, before relinquishing his command. General Speelmann who succeeds General Kientz as G.O.C., Constantine, assumed command on the 11th of October.

There have been several visits of the British and Sixth American Fleets to Algiers and other ports of the territory during the period.

JF 1015/3

No. 2

ACCOUNT OF THE DEBATE ON THE NORTH AFRICAN POLICY OF M. MENDES-FRANCE

Sir Gladwyn Jebb to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received February 12)

(No. 60. Confidential)

Paris.

Sir, February 11, 1955.

The debate on North Africa which began in the National Assembly on February 3 proved fatal to M. Mendès-France's Government. In a separate despatch I propose to assess the achievements of that Government: in the present despatch I have the honour to report on the debate itself, which provided useful indications of the attitude of the National Assembly towards the problems raised by France's possessions and protectorates in North Africa.

2. It is important to realise that although the debate was concerned with North African affairs, other considerations contributed powerfully towards the final result. The Communists, for example, who so loudly proclaim their solidarity with the North African nationalists, could not have voted against the first French Government to treat nationalist aspirations with sympathetic understanding had they not been primarily concerned to sow dragon's teeth. Even more curious was the behaviour of the M.R.P. This party has always advocated a policy in North Africa indistinguishable from that of M. Mendès-France. The President of the Council took much trouble to prove the identity between the two policies and was able to quote M. Robert Schuman in support of his thesis. He might have spared himself the trouble. M. Alfred Coste-Floret, the M.R.P. spokesman in the debate, freely admitted that the only differences were differences of timing and of method. He made no secret of the fact that his party were revenging themselves for the defeat of the E.D.C. Even M. René Mayer, whose speech was the signal for the Opposition to launch their decisive attack, produced no valid criticism of the Government's policy and fell back on vague insinuations about their ultimate objectives. Of course M. Mayer, unlike the M.R.P., is, as the representative of the big *colons*, opposed to reforms of any kind, but he never dared to say so.

3. The debate began with a series of interpellations by Deputies of secondary importance which occupied the whole of

the first day's proceedings. Several of the speakers were representatives of the *colons* and most of them took the line that by agreeing to negotiate with the Neo Destour in Tunisia the Government were not only preparing the way for Tunisian independence, but were encouraging revolt in Algeria. They alleged moreover that M. Mitterrand's projected reforms in Algeria, although they were as yet undefined, would inevitably lead to an evolution beginning with home rule for Algeria and ending with independence. Each speaker paid lip service to the idea of reforms in Algeria but none specified any particular reform which he personally would be prepared to accept, unless it were large-scale economic investment (and then these same Deputies would not be prepared to vote the necessary revenue unless it were devoted exclusively to the benefit of the *colons*).

4. The Communists as expected demanded independence for the protectorates and home rule for Algeria, and denounced the Government for their brutal repression. Instances of police brutality in Algeria were also cited by various Moslem Deputies, but it was noteworthy that none of the several Moslem or negro speakers desired the overthrow of the Government, and two or three of them spoke in moving terms of the consternation which would be aroused among native populations by the disappearance of a Government which had raised such high hopes.

5. At times the debate took on a strongly anti-British note. Nearly every Frenchman at the back of his mind blames British policies in the Middle East for France's difficulties with her Arab populations, and the negotiations with the Libyan Government over the Fezzan provided a suitable pretext for airing these grievances. Three speakers declared that France should not agree to evacuate the Fezzan while British troops remained in Libya on a permanent basis. M. Mendès-France was unable to convince the Assembly that Her Majesty's Government had exerted all their influence with the Libyan Government in support of their French ally. Incidentally, M. Mendès-

France never admitted that the Government were on the point of agreeing to evacuate the Fezzan and he is thus bequeathing to his successor a highly explosive time-bomb.

6. The second day's proceedings were opened by the eagerly awaited speech of M. René Mayer. In the previous debate on North Africa on December 11 M. Mayer had stayed his hand, well knowing that the Government's fate depended on his decision and that he had in his pocket the voting bulletins of twenty-five Deputies who had undertaken to vote as he did. Once again M. Mayer was the arbiter of the Government's fate. He kept his decision secret until the last minute. But when he began to speak it was at once apparent that he had decided to accept the responsibility of destroying a Government led by a member of his own party. He began by expressing misgivings as to the content of the draft agreement with the Tunisian leaders, which he feared constituted a stepping-stone towards complete independence. He then turned his attention to Algeria and criticised the appointment of M. Soustelle, arguing that as a well-known neutralist it was dangerous to place him in so important a post, and that he was likely to adopt a policy of appeasement towards the nationalists. In a lengthy passage on the Government's proposals for reform in Algeria, he contrived with some skill to convey the impression that although some (unspecified) reforms were desirable, those proposed by the Government were not. But whatever the Government's intentions, and M. René Mayer claimed that they were dangerously equivocal, he had no confidence in their will to preserve unimpaired the links between France and North Africa. M. René Mayer's speech, though it sufficed to destroy the Government, was not the magisterial *exposé* of an alternative policy which had been expected of him and which would have established his claim to the succession. It sufficed, however, to drain the interest from the remainder of the afternoon's proceedings and to cause the Deputies to discuss the delectable problems raised by the prospect of a Government crisis.

7. It was thus to a sparse and inattentive audience that M. Christian Fouchet, Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, delivered his account of the Tunisian negotiations. Naturally he emphasised the Government's primary concern during the negotiations to protect the interests of the French settlers and to ensure the permanence of "la présence française" in

Tunisia. But he is no orator and manifestly failed to carry conviction.

8. M. Mendès-France's speech after dinner was no more effective than that of M. Fouchet. He spoke of the improvement in the political climate in North Africa that had resulted from his Government's policies and claimed that the troubles in Algeria were exaggerated—if not to some extent provoked—by certain *colons* for their own purposes. He made a violent personal attack on M. René Mayer and asked him what had happened since last December to make him condemn a policy which he had then supported. The Government, he concluded, would not be deflected from their purpose of restoring friendship between Moslem and non-Moslem Frenchmen and strengthening the links which bound France to North Africa. When M. Mendès-France sat down he was applauded only by the Socialists and a few Radicals and Gaullists. He had manifestly failed to turn the tide. At midnight he announced that the Government had put the question of confidence on a simple resolution expressing approval of their policy. The debate was then adjourned until the following evening to leave twenty-four hours between the putting of the question of confidence and the vote.

9. Normally at this stage of a debate there ensue hectic negotiations to formulate a resolution which is acceptable to a sufficiently large number of deputies to ensure a majority. This time there were no such negotiations.

10. On February 5 the debate was resumed in the evening and the groups explained how they were going to vote. The M.R.P. announced that, though they agreed with the Government's policies in North Africa, they would vote against them in order to mark their general distrust and to avenge the defeat of E.D.C. A number of spokesmen from groups normally favourable to the Government declared that on this occasion they were not satisfied. There was nothing left for the Government to do except to demonstrate to the nation and to the populations of North Africa the inevitability and the rightness of their policy. First M. Mitterrand in an unusually forthright and persuasive speech vindicated the Government's policy in Algeria. He showed that they had acted with promptness and energy in restoring order. He exposed the hypocrisy of those who declared themselves in favour of reforms in general

but who opposed any specific reforms. The Statute of Algeria, he pointed out, had been voted by the Assembly in 1947 and the Government were merely fulfilling the law in attempting to give practical effect to it. At the end of his speech M. Mitterrand gave an unequivocal definition of the Government's policy in Algeria. There were, he said, a number of alternative policies. Two of them were entirely unacceptable: Algerian separatism on the one hand, and a policy of racial segregation on the other. Between these two extremes lay two possible policies: federation or assimilation. Federation might be applicable to other overseas territories but it was not the Government's policy for Algeria, which formed a part of metropolitan France. There remained only the policy of assimilation. This policy, however, must be fully applied without discrimination, not partially and for the sole benefit of one section of the community as at present. Of course it would not be feasible for Algeria to elect Deputies to the National Assembly in proportion to her population, but this difficulty could be surmounted by strengthening the rôle of such bodies as the Algerian Assembly and the Assembly of the French Union. M. Mitterrand concluded his speech by defending M. Soustelle's nomination.

11. The last speaker was M. Mendès-France himself. He warned the Opposition that any policy other than that which the Government had followed would be dangerous, and that failure to agree on any policy at all, as had happened during the notorious debate in June 1952, would be disastrous. The Opposition, he pointed out, were hopelessly divided on this issue and they therefore should not take the appalling risk of repudiating the Government's policy. The life of a French Government was of no importance, but goodwill between France and the Moslem population was all-important.

12. After this final speech the debate was adjourned for an hour and the vote was taken at 4 a.m. At 5 o'clock the result was announced. 319 Deputies (five more than the absolute majority) had voted against the Government. They consisted of the Communists, M.R.P. and Independents, seventeen Right-wing Gaullists, twenty Radicals (M. René Mayer and his followers) and, perhaps most significant of all, four U.D.S.R. (M. Plevin and three of his closest supporters). The 273 who voted for the Government consisted of the Socialists, two-thirds of the Radicals and Gaullists, the bulk of the U.D.S.R. and overseas Independents, a few individuals from other groups and the members of the Government themselves.

13. It was generally expected that, after this crushing defeat, M. Mendès-France would go straight to President Coty and hand in his resignation. But to the general astonishment, he asked to address the Assembly once more. He began with an appeal to the Assembly to continue his North African policy which alone could avert disaster. Up to this point he was heard in silence. But when he began to say that in other spheres too his Government had raised hopes which it would be criminal to dash, a storm of protest broke out. As the protests grew more violent, M. Mendès-France and his interrupters lost their self-control and his final words in which he denounced the campaign of calumny and personal vindictiveness which had been mounted against him, were drowned in the tumult. Unable to make himself heard, M. Mendès-France threw up his hands in despair and left the Chamber amid yells of insult. At last the Assembly had been able to vent their feelings on the man who had for seven months carried the heavy load of their collective failure and frustrations.

I have, &c.

GLADWYN JEBB.

JF 1112/1

No. 3

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE ALGERIAN BUDGET, 1954-55

Mr. Wakefield-Harrey to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received April 12)

(No. 15. Restricted)
Sir,

Algiers.
April 6, 1955.

I have the honour to submit the following comments on the political as well as the economic implications of the Algerian Budget for 1954-55, which was voted on the 1st of April by the Algerian Assembly.

2. As voted, the budget stands at over 150,000 million francs. (The budget for last year balanced at 122,000 million francs.)

Ordinary Budget				Francs
Receipts	...	...	...	97,187,479,000
Expenditures	...	...	...	97,182,725,000
Surplus	...	...	...	4,754,000

Extraordinary Budget				Francs
Receipts	...	...	...	53,467,101,000
Expenditures	...	...	...	53,467,101,000

3. The French contribution to Algeria's extraordinary expenses, some 45,000 million francs, now accounts for 84 per cent. of their total. Algeria's own contribution, 16 per cent., was 19 per cent. in 1954, 31 per cent. in 1953 and 47 per cent. in 1952. Part of the increase, both in value and percentage, borne by France, is the direct outcome of the recent terrorist outbreaks which in addition to calling for greater police and military contributions, have also resulted in a new programme of investment and social aid for which the Governor-General personally secured support in Paris and which is to be directed to the immediate betterment of living conditions for Moslem workers. About 80 per cent. of the French contribution is, however, not in the form of unrequited subsidies, but of low interest loans. The budget does not appear to carry any provision for amortisement and the annual interest charge on the budget is of course an increasingly heavy one.

4. Throughout the debates members of the Assembly were in agreement on the necessity for France to shoulder an ever increasing share of Algeria's financial burden. Diverse methods may have been put forward, such as the translation to France of all responsibility for the local electricity and gas undertakings and their amalgamation with Electricité de France, or the absorption again by the S.C.N.F. of the Algerian State Railways, but there was unanimity in agreeing that the French Government's avowed policy of full political integration between the two countries also implied full economic integration.

5. Other points included the fact that although the construction of new schools was expected to rise from the 600 classrooms constructed last year to some 800 this year, about 350 teachers only could be found each year to fill them. It was also revealed that service of the national debt, now standing at 130,000 million francs, and consisting for the most part of sums advanced by France, represents 12 per cent. of the ordinary budget. The Communist delegate was also quick to make the point that the police vote was seven times greater than the amount set aside for the relief of unemployment, an endemic ill in the country. This unemployment fund is, in fact, a new measure which in its present form is no more than a token gesture offering a modest relief to certain restricted recipients.

6. The conclusion to be drawn inevitably appears to be that the interlinked political and economic problems besetting the French in Algeria are not likely to be resolved in the foreseeable future, at any rate within the limits set by the present official policy. As a local economist has remarked, full integration between the two countries if logically pursued would mean a drop of about 20 per cent.

in the French standard of living in order to provide the rough increase of 80 per cent. required locally to align both French and Algerian living standards.

7. From the local point of view, the main interest in the Assembly's proceedings lay in the discussion which centred around the reform of the taxation levied for the benefit of the municipalities. The basis of this taxation was changed last year from the former system of "*centimes additionnels*" to a system of taxation levied on turnover figures. Due to some miscalculation last year, the yield was soon found to be inadequate and a rough series of coefficients were introduced, varying according to trade groups, to remedy the situation. The net result—certainly in the case of the smaller undertakings—seems to have been a substantial increase in taxation, including, in some cases, even firms and persons previously exempt by reason of their small earnings. A majority was finally found which favours a continuance of the new system after some easements had been agreed on to overcome the most glaring irregularities.

8. The question of taxation controls (*polyvalents*) also exercised much thought and argument but the Government, while making some small concessions, stood firm and insisted on their continuance. In stating their case the administration revealed that income tax returns were often glaringly wrong and illustrated this by reference to returns received from the professional classes which showed the average earnings declared by doctors throughout the country to be 935,000 francs per annum; for dentists the figure was 760,000 francs, and for lawyers 450,000 francs.

9. A copy of this despatch is being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris and to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tunis and Rabat.

I have, &c.

C. O. WAKEFIELD-HARREY.

JF 1013/4

No. 4

REVIEW OF EVENTS IN ALGERIA FOR THREE MONTHS' PERIOD ENDING MARCH 31, 1955

Mr. Wakefield-Harrey to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received April 20)

(No. 16. Confidential)
Sir,

*Algiers,
April 14, 1955.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith a survey of the events in Algeria for the quarter ending the 31st of March.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tunis, Rabat, Tangier and Tetuan, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) at Malta.

I have, &c.

C. O. WAKEFIELD-HARREY.

Enclosure

Nationalism

There is no doubt that the fall of the Mendès-France Government and the manner in which it was brought about was a shock to the Moslem population in Algeria, accustomed as it is to expect more sympathy in Paris than in Algiers. Animosity appears to have centred particularly on M. René Mayer, who is generally regarded as the agent of the vested landowning interests and his position at Constantine may have been weakened. The law passed by the National Assembly in May last bringing the second college to parity with the first (as against two-fifths to three-fifths formerly) in their representations on the *Conseils-Generaux*, will take effect in the forthcoming departmental elections and will mean that M. Mayer must secure at least partial second college support if he is to be re-elected at Constantine. The interests he represents, however, are powerful and he should have no difficulty in securing a fraction of the Moslem vote. That vote cannot, in present circumstances, be seriously exploited as a means of expressing a rejection of the régime. The fact remains, however, that the above-mentioned law, which has passed almost unnoticed in the recent troubled period, represents an important step forward.

2. The new Government does not apparently contemplate reforms beyond a more forward-looking application of the Statute of Algeria. The continuance of civil disorder must in any event delay the application of any reforms of a major character. No material change is therefore expected for the present except a more determined and co-ordinated action against the rebels, which will, by common consent, be more effective after the application of the state of emergency. The new Governor-General, who brings a less rigid mind and greater personal authority than his predecessor to the problems confronting him, does not appear, however, to have shifted much from M. Léonard's approach. He has unequivocally pronounced himself for a policy of complete integration. In one of his speeches he has spoken of France having successfully absorbed Brittany and his own province, the Massif Central, and implied that the pursuit of a similar success in Algeria is to be his major objective. This has certainly reassured the Europeans and made it clear to the nationalists that there is to be no forward movement save on a basis of that policy.

3. In the anxious period before the fall of the Mendès-France Government, the second college of the Algerian Assembly broke tradition by holding a separate meeting and issuing a statement on behalf of the second college only. M. René Mayer has implied that this was a consequence of the Government's policy in Tunisia and augured ill for the future. With police repression at that moment in full swing, however, it was difficult for the Moslem delegates to keep their self-respect if they did not make some protest against its unprecedented harshness.

Their statement stressed that they "prayed for a policy of complete equality of rights and duties within the framework of French democracy" and invited their colleagues of the first college to join them in realising the future of this country in unity and complete fraternity. In view of the interpretation which appears to have been placed on their action, a delegation of the second college sought an audience with M. Léonard before he left and reassured him of the spirit in which they had issued their appeal. They reiterated that it was not their intention to separate the two colleges whose fraternal union they themselves had done so much to forge.

4. It may therefore be taken for granted that the Moslem notables are still firmly behind the Government. There is in fact no other alternative to the present political structure of the country; yet recent events have unquestionably shaken members of the second college and faced them with the question of how far they can continue to keep their hold on the electorate in the face of a stagnant political situation. The application of the state of emergency is also an unsettling factor. The position of the second college is, moreover, rendered more difficult by the dissolution of the M.T.L.D. which has removed an irresponsible nationalist party from the scene. There still remains the U.D.M.A. which is, however, a middle-class party of limited appeal and is only tolerated as such. Ferhat Abbas, who is aware of this, is reported to be very disheartened and to be thinking of resigning and leaving the leadership of his party to younger men. As long as he is there the party will doubtless be tolerated and will function as a safety valve provided it keeps within very narrow limits. But any further switch to the Left would doubtless bring its Nemesis.

5. Me Kiouane, leader of the dissident Algerian faction of the M.T.L.D., who was arrested last December and has since spent some time in the prison hospital, has been released on bail owing, I understand, to the interest of M. Chevallier.

6. Despite persistent Communist campaigning there is no doubt that the declaration of a state of emergency in Algeria is generally welcomed. Its application is confined to the Aurès and a limited part of Kabylia. Administrators and other civil officials, as well as the military authorities, have pressed for this measure, realising their impotence to deal with the troubles without it. In the Aurès itself there has been little improvement in the situation and small skirmishes continue; the rebels on two recent occasions have taken prisoners. In Kabylia, some of the ringleaders at least appear to be accounted for and the situation is easier. References in the Press and in conversation to Egyptian intervention and Libyan connivance persist. Only one foreigner appears to have been arrested so far—a Moroccan from the Spanish zone who had served as an officer in the Iraqi army. The Director of the Governor-General's Cabinet declared at a Press conference that this man had been trained at a terrorist training camp at Castel Benito in Libya. The Government-General has been asked for further details regarding this statement but none has as yet been provided.

7. At a by-election in the Constantine Department in March for the National Assembly, Dr. Cadi was elected. Dr. Cadi was at one time a member of the U.D.M.A. Party but left it after differences with Ferhat Abbas. He styles himself an Independent-Progressive; the Administration does not appear to have opposed his election.

8. Three senior police officials in Algeria, the Commissaire principal and two of his closest collaborators, were transferred from Algeria in February and placed at the disposal of the Ministry of the Interior. Many other junior officers have also gone. This was the first action taken after the decree for the integration of Algerian and French police services, and was doubtless a rebuff to private interests who were able to exercise undue influence on these officials. Treatment of prisoners is now reported to be more humane.

Labour

9. There has been an increase during the past three months in the number of token strikes, lasting generally from 1 to 24 hours, which have taken place. No major strikes occurred although, as usual, dockers in the principal ports were often successful in their pin-prick tactics and occasioned delay. There is evidence of a hardening of the authorities' attitude towards this class of worker. On the

10th of March, the "work to rule" strike which customs personnel began on the 15th of December, 1954, came to an end.

10. Much was made by the Communist Press of the closing down of a large cork factory at Algiers and that of a weaving mill at Tlemcen. In both cases the trade union's intervention was successful in securing some relief for the workers involved. The factories, however, remain closed; they serve as a further warning of the difficulties of a policy of industrialisation of Algeria, a popular theme particularly of the Communists, and which takes little account of realities.

Communism

11. The Communist Press has been primarily concerned with events in Algeria and has been combating, generally in reasonable terms, the action taken by the authorities to restore order. The new "state of emergency" measures have naturally come in for their full share of criticism. Trade union connexions have been thoroughly exploited in this respect. Concern has also been expressed at the currently advocated joint Franco-German development of arms and other industries in North Africa, while the Paris Agreement has also provided a major target.

12. Communists have been most active in encouraging meetings and mass protests through the agency of existing organisations such as the *Secours Populaire Algérien*, the current spearhead, or new committees and movements such as the newly-proposed *Comité d'Action pour la Démocratie en Algérie*, and another styled "*Les Amitiés Algériennes*."

13. Plans are being made to send an Algerian delegation to the International Conference of Public Servants which is to be held in Austria on the 13th-16th April.

Miscellaneous

14. On the 26th of February a new sun mirror was inaugurated at Bouzareah, a suburb of Algiers. This mirror can produce a temperature of 3,000°C. and will, it is stated, be used for research in the fixation of nitrogen from the air.

15. M. Latroch Senoussi, a leading member of the Senoussi clan at Mostaganem, has recently received a high decoration from His Majesty the King of Libya. The Senoussi at Mostaganem are zealous in maintaining touch with His Majesty.

JF 1051/10

No. 5

VIEWS ON PRESENT FRENCH DIFFICULTIES IN ALGERIA

Mr. Macmillan to Sir Gladwyn Jebb (Paris)

(No. 343. Confidential) *Foreign Office,*
Sir, *June 10, 1955.*

I have to acknowledge your Excellency's despatch No. 173 dated the 10th of May, 1955, reporting your Excellency's official visit to Tunisia and Algeria between the 12th and 23rd of April and giving your comments and general impressions concerning these territories.

2. The despatch provides a most illuminating account of the present state and likely future development of these two countries and it has been read with great interest. I am in general agreement with your analysis of the political situation in Tunisia, and of the economic situation both in Tunisia and Algeria. It is difficult to see any practical way, which would be acceptable either to the French Treasury or to the local population, of solving the problem of a continuous increase in population, which both outruns resources and outdates the measures which are taken to deal with it.

3. The present state of unrest in Algeria lends particular interest to your analysis of the political problems of that country. I cannot but think that among the chief reasons why the French find themselves in their present predicament, is their adoption of the principle that "Algeria is France," Algeria is not France, and can never be France, unless and until:—

- (a) there is a comparable standard of living between Algeria and France;
- (b) Algerians enjoy in the French Parliament an equal measure of representation in proportion to their numbers as do the Frenchmen of Metropolitan France;
- (c) there is a widely felt desire on the part of Algerian Moslems to be Frenchmen.

4. If the standard of living in Algeria is to be brought to the level of that enjoyed by the population of Metropolitan France, the French Government will have to embark on a vast programme of investment in Algeria. The result of this would almost certainly be to retard for a generation any further rise in the present French

standard of living. Indeed it might well be impossible to maintain even the present standard in France, and equality might only be achieved by a process of levelling down in France and levelling up in Algeria. As you remark in a different context, no conceivable French Government but a Communist one could take such a responsibility.

5. The political implications of the "Algeria is France" policy are no less impossible of acceptance for a French Parliament, since to grant the native Algerians representation in the same degree as that enjoyed by the inhabitants of Metropolitan France would presumably mean the creation of a *bloc* of over 100 Algerian Moslem Deputies in the French Parliament. It is clear that the creation of such a *bloc*, which might tend to vote with the Communists, would create an entirely new balance of parties in the Chamber, and render the creation of a stable non-Communist Government yet more difficult.

6. The tide of the world is set in the direction of national, and particularly of "Arab" national, autonomy and identity. It has been said "A man is of the nation to which he passionately feels himself to belong" and no amount of political *Coué-ism* and repetition of the slogan "Algerians are Frenchmen" is going to make them so if they do not want to be so. As you point out there is in Algiers no central tradition of any kind: but the same was more or less true of the Sudan where just government and material wealth, introduced from outside, were insufficient to prevail in the face of psychological, cultural and religious factors which are perhaps common to almost all African Moslems. It is hard to believe that Moslem Algeria can be assimilated into France; or indeed that any "Arab" country could for long form an integral part of a Western State. With Home Rule in Tunisia, and the same solution inevitable in the long run for Morocco, the French are surely deceiving themselves if they think they can treat Algeria as a part of Metropolitan France.

7. On this analysis it would seem that the right course for the French to pursue (and

I am under no delusions as to its difficulty) is to admit that 1947 was a mistake and to seek a new solution. There is evidence to show that in practice the French authorities realise that the policy laid down is not really to the advantage of France. They have certainly, whatever the cause, been going slow on the full introduction of the 1947 reforms. In this they have, of course, satisfied no one. The vested interests of the large French industrialists and landed proprietors view with misgiving even those reforms which have been introduced: the Nationalists on the other hand regard them as totally inadequate and indeed as a piece of political hypocrisy on the part of the French.

8. The solution may perhaps lie, after all, along the lines of that proposed for Tunisia. Your Excellency has expressed the opinion that encouragement of local autonomy in Algeria would in fact mean the domination of the native majority by the white minority, in much the same way as 2½ million whites dominate the Union of South Africa. This may well be true as things are, but are there

not grounds for hoping that it need not always be so? Is it not possible to make a synthesis of the two propositions which you have put forward as antitheses; that is to say, for the French to intensify their policy of educating the Moslems and giving them a bigger share in the internal administration of Algeria, while at the same time they draw up a phased programme of advance towards Algerian home rule?

9. It is of course easy to propound snap solutions from an armchair in Whitehall. Hard, unpopular and courageous decisions will have to be made. It may be that there is at present no French leader of the stature to make them. But if the situation in Algeria is not to degenerate into an inexorable alternation of outrage, reprisal and riot, a decision will have to be made very soon. Time is not on the side of France, and she will not be able to swim against the tide of nationalism in North Africa any more than we have been able to do elsewhere in the world.

I am, &c.

HAROLD MACMILLAN.

JF 1019/17

No. 6

THE PROSPECTS FOR A NEW FRENCH POLICY TOWARDS ALGERIA

Sir Gladwyn Jebb to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 9)

(No. 254. Confidential)
Sir,

Paris,
July 7, 1955.

In your despatch No. 343 of the 10th of June you were good enough to comment on my account of an official visit to Tunisia and Algeria and to offer certain observations regarding the future of French policy in Algeria. In particular you expressed the view that a solution of the Algerian problem might lie in increased education for the Moslems of Algeria and a phased programme of advance towards Algerian home rule.

2. I think that few impartial observers would question the conclusion that even an indication by the French Government that they proposed to follow a policy of home rule for Algeria would cause an immediate and notable improvement in the atmosphere in North Africa. It is, however, questionable to what extent any foreseeable French Government will feel able to pursue such a policy, which would mean the abandonment of the policy of "Algeria is France" and would meet not only with the implacable hostility of the North Africa lobby, but with grave suspicion on the part of many moderate-minded Frenchmen. It is the purpose of this despatch to outline, as briefly as possible, the stage which French opinion has reached on this subject and to draw such conclusions as seem justified at the present juncture. The subject is complicated and I do not expect that the postponed debate in the Assembly will eventually render it less confusing.

3. Until recently there was no suggestion from any quarter that Algeria should be treated as other than an integral part of Metropolitan France. Indeed I learned as a result of my tour of North Africa that to win the hearts of French officialdom in Algeria it is only necessary to use the phrase "musulman français" on every possible occasion—not that I did! However the triumphal return of Habib Bourguiba to Tunisia (which was a shock to French opinion) and the outbreaks of violence in Morocco have caused some heart-searching in the liberal press. Past errors and failures have been admitted and

there has been widespread recognition of the need for immediate reforms in the economic, administrative and judicial fields. Moreover the apparent open-mindedness of the Government towards the possibility of a new policy for Algeria has recently led to comparatively frank discussion in the press of the desirability of modifying not only the political structure in North Africa, but in the whole of the French Union.

The "Soustelle Plan"

4. On the governmental side M. Jacques Soustelle, Governor-General of Algeria, is understood to have submitted a report of some importance, in which he is said to have proposed administrative reforms and analysed the different Algerian policies which are open to the French Government under the following headings:—

- (i) Secession.
- (ii) Assimilation.
- (iii) Integration.
- (iv) Federation.

I have not been able to secure the text, or even a first-hand version of this Plan, but the following information is taken from a well-informed press source and the statement reported in Algiers letter of the 30th of June to African Department. M. Soustelle naturally discards Secession. Assimilation and Integration differ only, in his analysis, in the fact that under the latter policy Algeria would maintain her own distinct linguistic, cultural and religious characteristics. Integration would therefore be a continuation of the present policy with the important proviso that Algerians are not expected to be Frenchmen in the fullest sense of the word. This distinction might seem to many to be the thin end of the wedge, by which Algeria would eventually be led towards autonomy in the same way as Tunisia. Nevertheless, M. Soustelle prefers Integration to Assimilation, which he regards as now being impracticable, and is therefore left with that and Federation as alternatives.

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5. Of these two policies Integration would seem more acceptable to French public opinion but it has certain serious disadvantages. In M. Soustelle's view it implies the eventual suppression of all special institutions for Algeria such as a Governor-General and the Algerian Assembly. Logically the territory should send representatives to the National Assembly in Paris proportional in numbers to its population, i.e., about 120. M. Soustelle believes that Integration might be accepted by certain sections of Ferhat Abbas' party, the U.D.M.A., but that it would not go far enough for even the moderate members of the M.T.L.D., who would not accept less than Federation, while the more extreme members want complete Secession. In general M. Soustelle is reported as thinking that Integration, if carried to its logical conclusion, could succeed. There are, however, major obstacles on each side: on the Algerian side, it would seem from an interview recently given by Ferhat Abbas to *Combat* that he is thinking at the least in terms of a federal relationship. On the French side, it is highly unlikely that the National Assembly would ever agree to the logical conclusion, in parliamentary terms, of Integration. I am therefore forced to conclude that M. Soustelle may have singled out the idea of Integration with the object of revealing its inherent difficulties and leading opinion towards the only other remaining solution, viz., Federation or a form of Home Rule for Algeria.

6. M. Soustelle accompanied his analysis of the political problem with certain practical measures. He wishes to lower the price of key food-stuffs (sugar, semolina, cereals) and to cut the price of power in order to develop industrialisation. He also asks that plans for the increased employment of Algerians in France should be studied. M. Soustelle has suggested measures for increasing education in the Arab language and opening the Civil Service more widely to Algerian Moslems. Certain of the economic measures, in particular the lowering of the price of sugar, have already come into force. The number of senior French administrators is to be increased from 250 to 300. (One of the main causes of the present troubles appears to be that in rural areas there are too few French administrators, so that much discontent is caused by the exactions of inadequately supervised Moslem officials.)

Development of Opinion

7. One encouraging aspect of the situation is that the public debate on Algeria is now open. This despatch has been drafted before the debate in the Chamber, but there have already been certain indications that the previous rigidity is loosening. The Socialists, in particular, are beginning to feel their way towards a federal solution, not only for North Africa, but also for the whole of the French Union. Some idea of the distance which has to be traversed can be gauged from the attitude of one of the most forceful and intelligent of young Socialist Deputies, M. Alain Savary, who was incidentally the intermediary between M. Mendès-France and Habib Bourguiba. M. Savary is himself convinced that a federal solution is both right and inevitable, but he intends to oppose it for the time being because it would in his opinion be disastrous to put forward such an idea in the present atmosphere in Algeria. In his view it is essential first to restore a climatic confidence. This could be done, he considers, by putting the 1947 Statute into full effect and by holding immediate and genuinely free elections for the Algerian Assembly.

8. M. Savary is perhaps excessively cautious. Certainly M. Senghor, the Senegalese Secretary of State at the Presidency of the Council, has no such inhibitions, despite his membership of the Government. In a recent article in *La Nef* he argues that it is hopeless to try to dam the rising tide of nationalism; the only chance is to harness it. France must therefore proclaim now that her overseas territories will evolve towards complete self-government within a fixed period of time, say fifteen years, and she must without delay evolve institutions which will provide for a free and equal association between the metropolis and the overseas territories.

9. M. Senghor goes rather too fast and too far. Nevertheless more liberal ideas are gaining ground. The M.R.P. have proclaimed so often their attachment to liberal policies overseas that it will be hard for them not to support concrete proposals of this nature, though M. Bidault has already made it clear that he does not like the Franco-Tunisian Agreements. The Mendésist Radicals can be counted on to support any liberal proposals though it is precisely among the Right-wing elements of the Radical Party that the most implacable position will be found.

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10. Support for a more forward looking policy has now come from a somewhat unexpected quarter. It is often forgotten that General de Gaulle, who called the Brazzaville Conference in 1944, holds enlightened views about France's attitude towards her Empire. At his press conference of the 30th of June the General pronounced himself in favour of a policy of association between the component elements of the French Union. Association, he said, could take two forms: in the case of Tunisia and Morocco it would involve a federal link between autonomous States; in the case of territories with special characteristics such as Algeria, it would take the form of integration into a community larger than France, a community in which the Algerians would play their full part politically and administratively. The General did not define his thought any more closely; and in particular he did not tackle the thorny problem of Algerian representation in the French Parliament.

11. Nonetheless, the General's declaration is bound to influence those Deputies who are still loyal to him. He has therefore not merely given considerable impetus to proposals for a federal policy, but has also helped to prepare the way for a majority to put this policy into effect.

The Government's View

12. It seems likely that the Government will respond to the development of public opinion. They are reported to have given close and sympathetic consideration to M. Soustelle's plan. M. Faure has made it clear on several occasions that, while the repression of terrorism is a pre-requisite to real progress, repression and reforms can go hand in hand, there being no need for the second to wait upon the first. He has said that there should be no delay in carrying out the administrative and economic reforms advocated by M. Soustelle. As regards the basic question of Algeria's status, M. Faure has said:—

"La politique à suivre doit marquer la volonté d'action de la France: volonté orientée vers une intégration graduelle de l'Algérie et de la métropole dans les domaines économique et politique, intégration progressive qui doit se concilier avec le respect des caractéristiques religieuses et culturelles du pays."

These words represent a restatement of what we understand to be the principle of Integration, as outlined in M. Soustelle's

Plan. There is, however, no evidence that M. Faure and his Government are facing the "logical conclusion" of this policy in terms of parliamentary representation. It is very difficult to estimate what M. Faure's real intentions are. He probably does not know himself, since so much depends on parliamentary developments. It is probable that the Government hope to hold the situation by means of palliatives in the way of economic and administrative reforms while doing no more than open the debate on the final political solution to be adopted.

Conclusions

13. The opening of the debate on Algeria in the public mind is a healthy sign. Moreover the recent Franco-Tunisian Agreements and the fact that the Moroccan situation is certain to demand a more liberal French policy suggest that Algeria cannot be left behind indefinitely. The aspirations of the Algerian population are unlikely to be satisfied by anything short of Home Rule, but it is impossible to see how a Home Rule statute can be devised which would satisfy the Algerian Moslems and at the same time fully protect the interests of the French section of the population.

14. I am advised that there is little chance of any French Government in the immediate future reversing its engine and backing out of the cul-de-sac represented by the slogan "Algeria is France" and the 1947 Statute. We are not likely to see more in the immediate future than economic and administrative reforms and injunctions to the Algerian Assembly that they should carry out the detailed recommendations of the 1947 measure. But if the disturbances in Algeria continue and the public debate in France develops, as may be expected, the "colons" may one day find themselves in a situation where their present way of life is upset by the grant of increased representation in Algiers, or in Paris, or both, to the Moslem population of Algeria. If things go badly, it is even possible to contemplate, as I hinted in the account of my journey in North Africa, a situation in which the white population might try to establish their rule over the country by force.

15. Meanwhile it seems to me very important that British public and official opinion should so far as possible show understanding of the French Government's

difficulties in this, the most difficult, region in North Africa. Any signs of criticism and impatience from the sidelines will only strengthen the hand of the reactionary elements in France which are represented in the Chamber by the North Africa lobby. The fact that France's status as a great Power depends directly on the maintenance of the French position in North Africa makes it doubly important for both France and France's allies that French policy in Algeria should be not only progressive but wise. Moreover France will only possess

the self-confidence required for a liberal approach to the Algerian problem if she considers herself assured of the unswerving support of her Western allies for the French position in that country.

16. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Rabat, Algiers, Tunis, Washington and the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

GLADWYN JEBB.

JF 1013/7

No. 7

REVIEW OF EVENTS IN ALGERIA FOR THE QUARTER ENDING JUNE 30, 1955

Mr. Dugdale to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 14)

(No. 32. Confidential)
Sir,

Algiers,
July 8, 1955.

I have the honour to enclose a survey of events in Algeria for the quarter ending the 30th of June. I am indebted to Mr. Vice-Consul Lawson for his help in the preparation of this report.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tunis, Rabat, Tangier and Tetuan, and to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean.

I have, &c.

A. C. DUGDALE.

Enclosure

1. General

After the relative quiet of the winter months, April saw the beginning of the rebels' spring campaign which, in a rising tempo of murders and sabotage, finally culminated during the second half of June—before it began receding again in the face of fierce repression—in the extension to Algiers and its environs of tobacco and other forms of boycott which had been initiated in Constantine.

The initial spread of insurgence and its sequels, during the period under review, came before the promised reinforcements had arrived in Algiers and therefore caught the authorities somewhat unprepared. Partly for this reason, but also no doubt because of the high state of nervous tension in the country, one of the results was a lot of outspoken and threatening criticism of the authorities by local French elements. Many of the changes in high posts which have since taken place (see Personalities, section 10 below) may not be unconnected.

2. Terrorism

Terrorist activity increased again in April, although Easter week-end passed off quietly, contrary to expectations. The following week witnessed the beginning of a series of bold rebel attacks initiated first by the rebels in the Aures where, on April 15, a military convoy was attacked and eight soldiers, with their arms and ammunition, captured. By early May the rebels had extended their sway to the area around Conde Smendou (south of Philippeville) and public opinion was becoming seriously worried, particularly as the new outbreak appeared to flaunt the state of emergency introduced on April 7 in certain areas of the department of Constantine and in Kabylia, and the setting up early in May of a special joint military and civil command in the department of Constantine under General Parlange. As a result of this tense atmosphere, on May 14, on his return from a visit to Constantine the Governor-General asked the public to co-operate with the authorities by refraining from spreading rumours which could only be of help to the rebels.

On May 20 it was announced that over 100,000 troops would soon be stationed in Algeria, that local militia would be raised, existing units strengthened and naval reinforcements provided for the protection of the Constantine coastal belt.

On May 25 a district commissioner, the officer in charge of his escort and four native soldiers were killed in an ambush while the rest of the escort, some 30 men, disappeared.

The activity of the rebels reached its high water-mark with the murder on June 17 of an administrator and his son at Victor Dupuy (near Batna) and an attack on Philippeville, in the north, when eight bombs were exploded and there was extensive damage by sabotage in the surrounding district.

CONFIDENTIAL

The first of these actions precipitated incidents at Batna where General Parlange and the Prefect of Constantine, M. Dupuch, who had gone there to attend the funeral, were subjected to a hostile demonstration from the European population who demanded among other things the institution of martial law and the appointment of Marshal Juin, with full powers, as Civil and Military Commander in Algeria. (See Algiers letter 50/1/58/55C of June 21 to African Department.)

The attack at Philippeville was the signal for an exchange of bitter telegrams between the Mayor of that town and the Governor-General. It was also the prelude to extremely heavy counter-attacks by combined air, naval commando and land forces which destroyed a number of villages known to be harbouring rebels. Strong military and air action in the Aures and the arrival of the 2nd D.I.M. (Mechanised Infantry Division), ex-NATO, in Kabylia appear to have done much to sway the neutral Moslem population which for the first time since November has again come forward with offers of assistance and protests of loyalty. This has lent colour to the *colons* emphatic reiterations that the use of force is the only answer to current problems.

Towards the end of May a campaign boycotting native smokers, which had taken root in the Constantine earlier, spread to Algiers. An attempt was also made to stop all natives from shopping in the ubiquitous Mozabite stores and also to prevent native domestic women servants from working for Europeans. Prompt police action on a vast scale both in Constantine and Algiers has done much to reduce the effectiveness of the boycott. The success of the official counter-measures may be judged from the fact that on June 23 the C.R.U.A. (Comité Révolutionnaire d'Unité et d'Action) is alleged to have instructed its cells to suspend their activities as a precautionary measure as the pace was getting too hot.

On June 4 the Governor-General was authorised to recall between 8,000 and 10,000 men to create light defence groups for the protection of crops (about which there are almost daily reports of burning, uprooting or cutting down) and as a result some 6,000 reservists were called up from the 1953 and 1952 age groups.

The improvement discernible at the end of June may, in part, be due to the transfer from the civil judicature to the military of pending cases arising out of the November outbreaks. Already a number of rebels concerned in the first attacks have been sentenced to death while their accomplices have received life sentences. In the areas of unrest, it is said action is now even more summary and expeditious in the case of rebels caught red-handed.

3. Governor-General

M. Soustelle, caught as he is between the noisy and insistent local demands for stronger repressive action and his own more liberal leanings, has so far given a good account of himself and shown his real desire to achieve a lasting and satisfactory solution to the Algerian problem. His policy—or more properly, that evolved by him in collaboration with the Committee of Co-ordination for French North Africa created in Paris early in June—appears to be based on an acceptance of the necessity for strong military action to suppress the rebels and the concurrent introduction of real reforms aimed at the betterment of the natives' spiritual and economic lot. Features of M. Soustelle's plan are the encouragement of light industries and a modernisation of native agriculture, an ambitious schooling programme to combat illiteracy, the opening of civil service appointments to Moslems, the teaching of Arabic as a compulsory second language in schools, the freeing of the Moslem religion from Government control, &c. (See Algiers letter 50/1/61/55C of June 30 to the African Department.)

It is fashionable in Algiers to sneer at the proposed reforms. One local die-hard politician has gone so far as to say that all the reforms that were necessary had long since been made . . . by the *colons* themselves, and local feelings may be gauged by the fact that at a meeting held by the Federation of Mayors of the Department of Algiers on June 27 in protest against the Government's so-called "immobilism," the Mayor of Algiers, M. Jacques Chevallier, was shouted down for suggesting that the problem should be examined with a cool head.

Now that the implications of assimilation and integration are gradually being brought home to the French in Algeria, their instinctive repugnance to such measures is revealing. Perhaps, if left to themselves, local French politicians could imagine no better state than the one which now prevails at the antipodes. Unfortunately for

CONFIDENTIAL

this view, Algeria has neither the resources nor the wealth of the Union of South Africa and, what is more, is dependent on France for financial aid on an ever increasing scale.

4. Algerian Assembly

On May 25 the new bureau of the Algerian Assembly was elected, somewhat precipitately, in order that it might be ready to greet the new Minister of the Interior, M. Bourges-Maunoury, on his arrival at Algiers. M. Saïah Abdelkader, a former President, was elected President for 1955-56. (See my despatch No. 24 of June 3.)

The current session of the Algerian Assembly has on the whole been quiet, local events which have produced their share of trouble outside being reserved for the debate which is timed to follow the one which the French National Assembly is to devote to North African affairs early in July.

On June 10 a motion was tabled by M. Gratien Faure calling for the indemnification by the State of losses sustained by farmers as a result of terrorist action. A second proposal for the extension of financial assistance to farmers for the purchase of equipment and machinery to speed harvesting this year was also made by M. Faure.

5. Communism

MM. Paul Caballero, a secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, and Georges Rafini, a member of the Bureau, were taken into custody at Algiers on June 20. On June 28 they were sentenced to 2 and 1 month's imprisonment respectively on a charge of resisting arrest. The fact that Caballero was being sought by the police in connexion with a sentence of imprisonment to which he had been condemned in May 1954 and against which he had not appealed within the specified time, suggests that his arrest is not unconnected with present police activities aimed at disrupting the Communist and rebel organisations. A statement made after his arrest claimed that his brief case had been found to contain documents which conclusively established the existence of a link between rebels and Communists.

The Press censorship regulations brought out on April 22 appear to be particularly aimed at the Communist Press. Since their promulgation these regulations have been consistently used to hinder the appearance of the Communist daily and weekly papers at Algiers. On one occasion three successive editions on the same day of the *Alger Républicain* were banned one after the other, although the last edition consisted of little more than a series of blanks. This has led the paper to print in heavy type on its front page every day the slogan: "*L'Alger Républicain dit la vérité. Il ne dit que la vérité... mais il ne peut pas dire toute la vérité.*"

A number of Communist school teachers and several other persons—for example two Customs officials—have been refused residence in Algeria and deported to France since the special powers under the state of emergency came into force.

6. Labour

There were no major strikes during the quarter. Most of the strikes were short token ones in which dockers, public services, &c., were involved. May Day passed off quietly throughout Algeria. All parades and demonstrations were banned in the Department of Constantine in areas covered by the state of emergency. On May 26 a newspaper strike prevented all newspapers from appearing with the exception of a daily paper at Algiers whose staff belonged to a different union. On May 9, for the first time since 1947, a C.G.T. delegation was received by the Governor-General.

7. Press

By and large, the Algerian Press which, with the exception of Communist and Nationalist papers, is generally of a Right-wing catholic complexion, showed marked resentment at what it construed to be the United Kingdom's unfriendly attitude towards France in North Africa. This is in fact no new development as *colons* and many others among the well-to-do French in Algeria have always nursed resentment against the British, however friendly superficial relations may have appeared. Indeed, cocktail party gossip quite openly accuses Great Britain of being implicated in the training of rebels in Libyan camps and of helping in gun-running into Algeria.

Our colonial policy is not understood locally and is in fact clearly suspect, as was evident in the handling by the local Press and radio of the speech made by Her Majesty's Ambassador during his visit to Algiers in April.

8. Nationalists

A suggestion, originating in the Metropolitan Press, that Ferhat Abbas, the leader of the moderate U.D.M.A. Party, might usefully be brought into discussions on current problems produced an official statement that Algeria, unlike Tunisia and Morocco, was an integral part of France and a denial of the fact that there could ever be a question of "interlocuteur valable."

Current Press reports suggest that the M.T.L.D., which was banned after the November uprisings, has continued its activities as a clandestine party in France under the title "Mouvement National Algérien."

9. Elections

(i) Cantonal

Elections for renewal of half the seats of *Conseillers Généraux* were held on April 17 and 24. No major changes took place and in particular no Communists were returned. The outstanding feature of the elections was that as regards the Moslem electors, it appears that the Governor-General's promise that the elections should be absolutely free seems to have been respected. (See Algiers letter 50/1/28/55C of April 26 to African Department.)

(ii) Conseil de la République

On June 19 senatorial elections to the *Conseil de la République* for the Department of Algiers took place. In the First Collège, MM. Borgeaud and Rogier were re-elected, whilst M. Schiaffino was elected in place of Senator Muscatelli who did not seek re-election. MM. Ferhat Marhoum and Abdennour Tamzali, the outgoing Senators in the Second Collège had a walk-over. (See my despatch No. 28 of June 21.)

10. Personalities

Many changes have occurred recently among high-ranking military and civil personnel in Algeria. The principal ones include the appointment (with effect from July 6) of General Henri Lorillot to succeed General Chérière as General Officer Commanding the 10th Military Region; (General Chérière, who was appointed to Algiers about 9 months ago, has been placed on the retired list). The appointment of Admiral Auboyneau as Commander-in-Chief of French Naval Forces in the Mediterranean in place of Admiral Sala who leaves on July 31 for a new post; the nomination of M. Max Lafont de Sentenac as Secrétaire-Général Adjoint to the Government-General to replace M. Jean Thomassin who left Algiers on May 23; the appointment of M. François Collaveri as Prefect of Algiers to succeed M. André Trémeaud who has been transferred to the Ministry of the Interior.

New military appointments include those of General Gaston Parlange as General Officer Commanding in charge of civil and military operations (co-operating with M. Dupuch, Prefect of Constantine), and General André Beaufre, General Officer Commanding the 2nd D.I.M. which arrived from France on June 19, who has been entrusted with the task of covering Kabylia.

11. Visits

M. Paul Reynaud visited Algeria in April in the course of a journey made to French North Africa as President of the Commission des Finances. M. Reynaud was outspoken and his findings were not all appreciated locally, in particular his suggestion that Algiers should help herself more by raising funds through increased local taxation and not rely ever and anon on financial grants from France. He was also one of the first to point out the impracticability of full integration. (See Algiers letter 50/1/34/55C of May 13 to African Department.) M. Reynaud was accompanied during part of the time by M. Gaston Palewski, whose main interest seems to have been concerned with the potential industrial development of the Colomb Bécharr area.

M. Bourges-Maunoury, the French Minister of the Interior, visited Algiers on a fact-finding journey from May 26 to 31. It was during this visit that the proposal for the creation of a new department with Bone as capital was again formulated. It

was also during this visit that the Government's current policy regarding Algeria first took shape (See my despatch No. 25 of June 3.)

During the first fortnight of June a French Parliamentary delegation of the Sous-Contrôle de l'Emploi des Crédits Militaires, headed by M. Christian Pineau, visited the Colomb Béchar area which, besides being of growing importance as an industrial centre, also contains military weapons testing ranges. The delegation's findings were published, according to Press reports, on June 30, in two parts. The first, which contains sound generalities about the situation in Algeria, was given wide publicity, while the second, a classified section containing secret information, was, it was claimed, to be withheld from Communist Deputies and made available only to "national" parliamentary members of the relevant committees.

Marshal Alphonse Juin came to Algiers on May 28 to preside over the 4th National Congress of the French Expeditionary Force to Italy. As his visit coincided with that of M. Bourges-Maunoury, Marshal Juin did not attend the opening session of the Congress, preferring to closet himself with the Minister of the Interior and the Governor-General. The visit, which lasted only 24 hours, was otherwise unexceptional.

JF 1071/30

No. 8

DEBATE IN THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON ALGERIA

(1)

Sir Pierson Dixon to Mr. Macmillan. (Received October 1)

(No. 888)
(Telegraphic)

UKDEL, New York,
September 30, 1955.

Algeria.

After a lengthy debate and despite a brilliant speech by M. Spaak (Belgium) this item was inscribed by 28 votes to 27 (including United Kingdom and United States) with 5 abstentions.

At the conclusion of the debate M. Pinay said that the French Government would regard as non-existent any recommendation which the Assembly might make. He gave a warning that he might have grave news over-night regarding the relations of France with the United Nations.

JF 1071/31

(2)

Sir Pierson Dixon to Mr. Macmillan. (Received October 1)

(No. 890)
(Telegraphic)

UKDEL, New York,
September 30, 1955.

Algeria.

Plenary debate on inscription of Algerian item continued to-day and I took the opportunity of making attitude of United Kingdom towards inscription of this item quite clear.

2. I said that Her Majesty's Government have always maintained that the United Nations is precluded by Article 2 (7) of the Charter from intervening in the domestic affairs of a member State and that the General Assembly has no right in the Charter to discuss matters in this field or to adopt any resolution on them. Some members of the United Nations might dislike the historical and political fact that Algeria was an integral part of France and might be unwilling to concede that the situation in Algeria was a matter for the domestic jurisdiction of France and, therefore, outside the competence of the Assembly. But facts were facts and rules were rules, and how could we expect the United Nations to function unless there was acceptance of political actualities and respect for the rules? If rules were not respected there was the risk that the United Nations might become an organisation not for solving problems but for exploiting them or even creating them. One of the cardinal principles on which the Charter was founded was that the United Nations would not intervene in the domestic affairs of its members. It could only harm and imperil the future of the United Nations if the Assembly exceeded its powers by entering the field of domestic jurisdiction.

3. I then dealt with the arguments that the provisions of Article 2 (7) were overridden by references to the principle of self-determination in Articles 1 and 55, by the preamble, and even by Articles 10, 11, 14 and 35 of the Charter. I pointed out that no conflict existed between Article 2 (7) and the other provisions of the Charter and even if such a conflict existed it would be Article 2 (7) that would be overriding. The United Kingdom considered the principle of the self-determination of peoples to be of the highest importance and it was a principle which had been a significant factor in the policy of successive governments in the United Kingdom over many years. But we had never admitted that this was a principle which overrode the many other factors and responsibilities involved. Similarly no grounds for disregarding the provisions of Article 2 (7) could be found

by invoking the principle of self-determination, and we could not accept that there was a legal right of self-determination built into the Charter which removed the question of Algeria from the realm of the domestic jurisdiction of France. We simply could not find that right in the wording of the Charter or in the spirit of the Charter; or in the circumstances in which the Charter came to be signed.

4. I went on to say that it had been suggested by some speakers that the stand which other speakers had taken on Article 2 (7) of the Charter was "legalistic" but that provision was the law and, of course, this was not the first time in human history that when the law was found to be inconvenient it was dismissed as legalistic. Both the letter and the spirit of the Charter required that each member State should be left to manage its own affairs in its own territories, and surely that was the wish of every member. It would be a sad day for the United Nations and for the world if it came to be accepted that any member of the United Nations could claim a right to debate, and by this means intervene in the domestic affairs of another. It would shake the very foundations of the organisation and would strike at the roots of the principles of independence and liberty which animated the United Nations.

5. Full text of my statement follows by bag.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JF 1012/2

No. 9

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN ALGERIA

Mr. Dugdale to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 14)

(No. 33. Confidential)
Sir,

Algiers,
July 12, 1955.

I have the honour to enclose herewith the annual report on leading personalities at Algiers for the year 1955.

I have, &c.

A. C. DUGDALE.

Enclosure

Index to leading personalities in Algeria

INDEX

1. Abbas, Ferhat
2. Alazard, Professor Jean
3. Auboyneau, Vice-Admiral
4. Aumeran, General Adolphe
5. Barbier, Jacques
6. Beaufre, General André
7. Blachette, Georges
8. Borgeaud, Henri
9. Bouakouir, Salah
10. Bouhali, Larbi
11. Boumendjel, Ahmed
12. Caballero, Paul
13. Charles-Vallin, Mme. Henriette
14. Chatoney, The Rev. A.
15. Chevallier, Jacques
16. Collaveri, François
17. Cuttoli, Maurice
18. de Novion, Vicomte G.
19. de Serigny, Vicomte Alain
20. Dupuch, Charles
21. Duroux, Jean
22. Duval, Mgr.
23. Eisenbeth, Maurice
24. Fares, Abderrahmane
25. Favereau, André
26. Firroloni, General André
27. Frandon, General
28. Géli, Rear-Admiral
29. Germain, Henry
30. Guellati, Ali
31. Gujauchain, Jacques
32. Gujauchain, Pierre
33. Guillon, Pierre
34. Imbert, Dr. Marc
35. Juliet, Jacques
36. Justrabo, René
37. Lacquière, Raymond
38. Lafont de Sentenac, Max
39. Lamassoure, Guy
40. Lambert, Pierre
41. Lavayse, Paul
42. Lefevre-Paul, Maître Jules
43. Léhuraux, Colonel Léon
44. Lorillot, General Henri
45. Lung, Mlle. Henriette

46. Mathiot, André
47. Mesbah, Salah, Maître
48. Messali, Hadj
49. Meynier, General O.
50. Mezerna, Ahmed
51. Nabal, Colonel Albert
52. Pardes, General
53. Parlange, General Gaston
54. Paternot, Marcel
55. Perrier, Raoul
56. Pontal, Gaston
57. Racim, Mohammed
58. Ribère, Marcel
59. Rigollet, Léon
60. Roche, Tony
61. Saiah, Abdelkader
62. Schiaffino, Laurent
63. Seiberras, Georges
64. Soustelle, Jacques, C.B.E.
65. Sportisse, Mme. Alice
66. Tamzali, Mustapha
67. Urbani, Henri

1. Abbas, Ferhat

Born 1899 at Tahert (Algeria). Chemist by profession, and president of the Moslem Students' Friendly Society at Algiers. Was formerly a member of the Assembly of the French Union. Is Secretary-General of the comparatively moderate U.D.M.A. (Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien) Nationalist party, and editor of *La République Algérienne*.

2. Alazard, Professor Jean

Born about 1897. Dean of the Faculty of Letters and director of the National Art Gallery at Algiers. Is president of L'Alliance Française. Has visited the United Kingdom as a guest of the British Council and proved helpful in arranging lectures by British Council representatives visiting Algiers. Is married.

3. Auboyneau, Vice-Admiral

Takes up appointment on August 1, as Commander-in-Chief, French Naval Forces in the Mediterranean and Commander, Western Area, N.A.T.O., in place of Vice-Admiral Sala (No. 55 in Personalities List, 1954).

Entered French Naval College 1917. Served in Indo-China from 1923. Promoted *Lieutenant de Vaisseau* two years later and appointed instructor on *Jeanne d'Arc*. Commanded *Orage* 1937 to 1939. Promoted *Capitaine de Frégate* and appointed liaison officer to the British Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean. Joined de Gaulle's forces in 1940 and in 1942 on promotion to Rear-Admiral was appointed *Commissaire National de la Libération* and Commander-in-Chief of the Free French Naval Forces. Took part in the landings in the south of France where he led the Third Cruiser Division. Promoted Vice-Admiral in 1945 in command of French Naval Forces in the Far East, and from 1949 to 1951

commanded French Naval Forces in the Indian Ocean. 1951 to 1952 Inspector-General of French Naval and Naval Air Forces.

Admiral Auboyneau has a young and attractive wife and speaks English well.

4. Aumeran, General Adolphe

A retired General. Editor of the local weekly *L'Africain*. Represents a constituency of the department of Algiers in the French National Assembly. A die-hard Right-wing politician.

5. Barbier, Jacques

Born Paris, December 1907. Joined prefectural service in 1933. *Sous-Préfet* of Nontron, Cambrai, Mayenne and Douai from where he joined M. Soustelle's Cabinet in Algiers in February 1955, as *Directeur Adjoint du Cabinet Civil*.

6. Beaufre, General André

Commanding officer of the 2nd Mechanised Infantry Division which arrived in Algeria in June 1955, to help in combating the terrorists in Kabylia.

Specialist in Algerian affairs, he took an active part in preparing for the Allied landings in North Africa in 1942. Has served with many units in Africa and led the 4th Moroccan Mountain Division in Italy and France. Is a Commander of the Legion of Honour and holds many other French decorations.

7. Blachette, Georges

Born about 1897. Served in the Great War. Is president of the Federation of Algerian Producers' and Exporters' Association. A man of wealth and considerable influence, owns *Le Journal d'Alger*, one of the Algiers daily (Right-wing) newspapers, and is seeking to gain control of *L'Echo d'Alger*. Represents a constituency of the Department of Algiers in the French National Assembly.

8. Borgeaud, Henri

Senator for the Department of Algiers and President of the Rassemblement de la Gauche Républicaine. Is a landowner, wine-grower and businessman of considerable means. Presented Algiers with its first blood plasma laboratory.

9. Bouakouir, Salah

Directeur du Commerce, de l'Energie et de l'Industrie, Algerian Government General. Highest ranking Moslem on Governor-General's staff.

10. Bouhali, Larbi

Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party. Was sentenced in July 1952 to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 600,000 francs for plotting against the internal security of the State. Sentenced on similar grounds since.

11. Boumendjel, Ahmed

Born about 1902. Native barrister. Member of the U.D.M.A. Nationalist Party; occasionally writes articles for *La République Algérienne*.

12. Caballero, Paul

A secretary of the Algerian Communist Party. Although Bouhali, Larbi (q.v.) is nominally general secretary of the party, Caballero is said to be really in control. He was sentenced to two months' imprisonment in June 1955, for "resisting arrest" when he was taken into custody earlier in the month in connexion with a prison sentence passed on him in May 1954 against which he had not appealed within the due time.

13. Charles-Vaillin, Mme. Henriette

Is a delegate to the Algerian Assembly and plays an important part in Algiers social life. She is president and animator of the *Cité Universitaire*, and also president of the Cancer Research Institute. She has a friendly interest in the United Kingdom. She is a widow. Her late husband was a leading figure in Algiers before the war.

14. Chatoney, The Reverend A.

President of the Reformed Church of France in Algeria.

15. Chevallier, Jacques

Born about 1912. Belongs to an old French family established in Algeria for the past 80 years. Holds a degree in law from Algiers University. Mayor of El Biar, a suburb of Algiers, April 1941, at the age of 29. Was held in high esteem by General Weygand and appointed a member of the old Financial Assembly of Algeria. Volunteered for service with the French Army in Italy but was recalled and appointed principal liaison officer to the French counter-espionage services in the United States and Canada. He has been a Deputy to the National Assembly since January 1952 and was for some time prior to that a Delegate to the Algerian Assembly. He was elected Mayor of Algiers in May 1953, and appointed Under-Secretary of State for the Armed Forces (War) in M. Mendès-France's Government in June 1954.

M. Chevallier's political career has been very varied. Though a firm believer in the French presence in Algeria he has at times been very liberal in his attitude to the nationalists. A spontaneous open and likeable character. He is very friendly and speaks excellent English. His mother is a member of an old French family long resident in Louisiana.

16. Collaveri, François

Newly appointed Prefect of Algiers to replace M. Trémaud (No. 65 in Personalities List for 1954).

Born September 25, 1900. Entered prefectural service in 1944 and has served as *Directeur* of the Cabinets of the Minister of the Interior and of the Minister of National Defence. Has been Prefect of Ain since 1951. Holds the *Croix de Guerre* and is an Officer of the Legion of Honour.

17. Cuttoli, Maurice

The Secretary-General. Born 1905 at Bône, Algeria. Bachelor of Laws. After practising as a barrister at the Court of Appeal of Algiers, entered the French Civil Service in 1929, and in 1934 was *Sous-Préfet* in the Department of Aube. In 1936 and again in 1938 was Deputy Chef de Cabinet to the Under-Secretary of the Interior. *Sous-Préfet* of Mamers and Boulogne, 1940. *Préfet* of the Department of Aube, 1942, when he is understood to have played an important part in the Resistance Movement. *Préfet* of the Somme Department after the liberation, of Oran (Algeria) in 1947, and of the Department of Oise, 1949. Was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour for services rendered during the war. Assumed office as Secretary-General of the Government of Algeria, December 1951. M. Cuttoli is married and both he and his wife are pro-British and most friendly. Officier de La Légion d'Honneur November 1952.

18. de Novion, Vicomte G.

Born about 1902. Local manager of the Swedish Match Corporation. Was appointed Austrian Vice-Consul in Algiers in April 1954. Active and frequently away on business in various countries. Does not indulge in politics. Speaks fluent English. His wife, who is Swedish, is prominent in local society. They are a wealthy couple and very friendly.

19. de Serigny, Vicomte Alain

Born about 1907. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly of which he was elected Third Vice-President in May 1953, and manager of *L'Echo d'Alger*. Combines with his journalistic profession considerable political activities in which he is definitely Right-wing. His wife is a daughter of M. Torp, Honorary Consul-General for Norway. Both M. and Mme. de Serigny speak English.

20. Dupuch, Charles

Born at Poitiers in 1911. Appointed Prefect of Constantine in 1954. An able administrator who appears to have competently handled the increased responsibilities which have been his since November 1954.

Appointed *Chef de Cabinet* of the Prefect of Seine and Marne in 1936, *Sous-Préfet* of Confolens, and in 1946 attached to the Ministry of the Interior. Appointed Inspector-General for special duties in the 3rd Military Region in 1950 and attached to the staff of the Prefect of Ille-et-Vilaine. Appointed Prefect of Aveyron in 1951. Seconded to the *Présidence du Conseil* in 1953 as *Directeur Adjoint du Cabinet* of M. René Mayer. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

21. Duroux, Jean

Born about 1907. Son of the late Senator, Jacques Duroux. Whilst not engaged in active politics, is energetic in pulling strings behind the scenes. Owner of *L'Echo d'Alger*, "Cargos Algériens," flour mills and large estates. His wife, who is a daughter of the Norwegian Consul-General, is the sister-in-law of M. Alain de Serigny (q.v.).

22. Duval, Mgr.

Archbishop of Algiers. Enthroned March 25, 1954.

23. Eisenbeth, Maurice

Grand Rabbi of Algiers. Is an Officer of the Legion of Honour.

24. Fares, Abderrahmane

Born 1911 at Constantine, Algeria. Was first Moslem admitted to practise as Notary in Algeria. Was president of the Algerian Assembly for the year May 1953-April 1954. Is a firm believer in Moslem co-operation with the French and in the possibility of a synthesis of the two cultures. He was an able president and commanded the respect of delegates to both colleges. Is married and lives as a European. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

25. Favereau, André

Appointed *Conseiller Technique* in M. Soustelle's Cabinet in Algiers in February 1955. Has rank of Minister Plenipotentiary. Member of an old Breton family, his grandfather was *Commissaire-Général de la Marine* at Algiers in 1860. An industrialist before the war, M. Favereau played a leading part in the Resistance and has since occupied important diplomatic posts in Germany and with the United Nations Arab Relief Committee in Palestine.

26. Firroloni, General André

Born November 6, 1905. Appointed Air Officer Commander-in-Chief, Algeria, in September 1953. He is Commander of the Legion of Honour, *Croix de Guerre*, 1939-45, and holds numerous other decorations. He and his wife are very friendly.

27. Frandon, General René

Appointed Officer Commanding the 5th Air Region, July 1955, in place of General Bonnafé (No. 6 in Personalities List for 1954). Born at Briançon on January 13, 1904. Left Saint-Cyr in 1924 and was first posted to the French Foreign Legion in the Far East. Returned to France in 1930 when he transferred to the French Air Force. Promoted Captain, December 1932. Attended the *Ecole Supérieure de Guerre* in 1935 and appointed staff officer in 1937. In 1939 at the beginning of the war appointed head of the *1er Bureau G.H.Q.*, Air. Transferred in 1941 to the 1/23 Bomber Group. In November 1942, appointed head of the Air Section of the French delegation attached to the American Command in Morocco. Returned as Commanding Officer to 1/23 Bomber Group in February 1943. Promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in March 1944. Transferred to the headquarters of the Committee of National Defence at Algiers in May 1944. Promoted Colonel in March 1945 and *Général de Brigade* in July 1949. Appointed assistant to the Major-General, Air Force, in charge of plans at Paris from August 1949 to November 1951, when he was appointed Air Officer Commanding in Morocco. Promoted *Général de Division*, he was appointed Air Officer Commanding the 2nd Air Region at Paris.

General Frandon's wife belongs to a leading local family. He is a Commander of the Legion of Honour.

28. Geli, Rear-Admiral

Assumed command at Oran of the *Marine en Algérie* on April 10, 1952.

29. Germain, Henry

Senior member of a family of important landowners and wine producers. Creator of the first regular air line in North Africa, now a part of Air France.

30. Guellati, Ali

A Moslem. Member of the Algerian Assembly. President of the Commission de l'Economie de l'Union Française. Vice-President Union Algérienne des Sociétés Indigènes de Prévoyance. *Conseiller du Commerce Extérieur de la France*. *Administrateur de la Banque de l'Algérie et de Tunisie* at Paris. Has considerable influence at Paris as advocate for the small Moslem agriculturalist.

31. Guiauchain, Jacques

One of the owners of the Hôtel St. George, of which he obtained control in 1952. Is an architect by profession, and was designer of the Government-General building.

32. Guiauchain, Pierre

Owner, together with his younger brother Jacques (q.v.) and his sister, of the Hôtel St. George. Was also actively engaged in various business interests and was chairman of the Algiers Employers' Association until his health broke down early in 1952. The two Guiauchains had a British mother and are very pro-British.

33. Guillon, Pierre

Appointed *Recteur de l'Académie* and Director-General of Education in Algiers towards the end of 1954. He was previously *Recteur* of Montpellier. He is an archaeologist of great distinction and has written several treatises on his excavations. He has made a most favourable impression in Algiers.

34. Imbert, Dr. Marc

Very pro-British. Invariably arranges hockey matches when Her Majesty's ships visit Algiers. Has flown his hockey team to Malta and Gibraltar for return matches.

35. Juillet, Jacques

Born February 1918.
A Prefect who distinguished himself with the Resistance during the war. He was *Directeur Adjoint* of the Cabinet of M. Mendès-France before assuming his present post as *Directeur* of the Civil and Military Cabinets of Governor-General Soustelle. As such he has the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary.

36. Justrabo, René

Born about 1917 at Mascara (Algeria). Communist delegate for a constituency of Oran to the Algerian Assembly. Was Mayor of Sidi-bel-Abbès until March 1953 when he and the town councillors were removed from office for corrupt administration.

37. Lacquière, Raymond

Born in 1881 at Saint Eugène, suburb of Algiers. Belongs to an old Algerian family with a distinguished military record. Studied law at Algiers University. Admitted to Algiers Bar. Entered politics about 1920, when he was elected Counsellor of the Department of Algiers and Mayor of Saint Eugène. Was Deputy for Algiers, 1928-32. Elected delegate to the Algerian Assembly when it was formed in 1948 and became its first President. Holds the Croix de Guerre for distinguished service in the Great War, and is an Officer of the Legion of Honour. Was again President of the Algerian Assembly for the year 1952-53 and was re-elected Mayor of St. Eugène in May 1953. Is liked and respected by most delegates. He is a shrewd politician, an able orator and a firm partisan of the French position in Algeria, but always ready to fight the central authorities in the interests of Algeria. Elected president of the Algerian Assembly for the third time in May 1954.

38. Lafont de Sentenac, Max

Appointed Deputy Secretary-General of the Government-General to replace M. J. Thomassin (No. 61 in Personalities List for 1954). He was born on January 8, 1906. A Bachelor of Arts, he entered the prefectural service in 1934 as *Chef de Cabinet* of the Prefect of Basses-Pyrénées. Has held posts at Jonzac, Chôlet, Montbard and Rennes. Served as Secretary-General at Prefecture in Aube in 1948 and since December 1953 as Prefect of Yonne. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

39. Lamassoure, Guy

Appointed *Directeur* of the Civil Cabinet of Governor-General Soustelle. Has risen rapidly in the prefectural service and in 1948 was appointed Secretary-General of the Prefecture of Bouches-du-Rhône. Was Prefect of Landes before coming to Algeria in February 1955.

40. Lambert, Pierre

Prefect of Oran (November 1953). Born Paris, February 2, 1901. Last post Prefect Saône et Loire (September 6, 1946). Played an active part in Resistance. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and Companion of the Liberation.

41. Lavaysse, Paul

Secretary-General of the Prefecture, Algiers.
Born about 1897. Served in the Great War after which he entered Prefectural Service. Deputy Chef de Cabinet to the Governor-General in 1940. Is now in charge of Administration at the Prefecture. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Married.

42. Lefevre-Paul, Maître Jules

A leading member of the Algiers Bar and former *Bâtonnier*. Was some time legal adviser to Her Majesty's Consulate-General.

43. Léhuraux, Colonel Léon

Born 29th December, 1885. Member of Algerian Assembly. Former Mehari officer. Grand Prix Littéraire de l'Algérie. Former *Directeur* of the Southern Territories, Algerian Government-General. An authority on things Saharan. Commander of the Legion of Honour. Croix de Guerre (1914-18). Médaille Coloniale. Médaille Militaire Egyptienne.

44. Lorillot, General Henri

Appointed Officer Commanding the X *Région Militaire* in June 1955 in place of General Chérière who has been placed on the retired list. Born August 18, 1901. In 1943 was liaison officer with British First Army and in April 1944 was military delegate on the French Committee of Liberation. July 1945, commanded the 110th Infantry Regiment. Served in the Far East until 1951 when he assumed command of the Oran Division. Attached to S.H.A.P.E. from October 1953. Is a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour.

45. Lung, Mlle. Henriette

President of the Red Cross Committee of Algiers. Comes from a wealthy wine-growing family. Is quite friendly towards us and put facilities of Red Cross at our disposal at time of *Empire Windrush* disaster in 1954. Is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

46. Mathiot, André

Born about 1907. Wealthy and prominent in Algiers society; mainly interested in horses and racing. Is president of the Société des Concours Hippiques d'Alger.

47. Mesbah Salah, Maître

First Vice-President (1952-53). Born 1913 at Gueuzet (Algeria) of an old Moslem family of magistrates in the district of Sétif. Studied at Algiers and at the University of Toulouse. Was Second Vice-President of the Assembly in 1949-50, and is rapporteur of the Committee on the Moslem Cult. Is *Bâtonnier* of the Sétif Bar.

48. Messali, Hadj

Born about 1898 at Tlemcen (Algeria). Served in the army during the Great War, after which he remained in France, working and studying at the Paris School for Oriental Languages and at the Sorbonne. Later frequented revolutionary circles, and after working for a short time with the Communist Party, decided to leave it and concentrate on the "liberation" of Moslem nationals in Algeria. From 1929-34 his subversive activities led several times to his arrest and imprisonment by the French authorities. In March 1937 a group of Algerian Moslems in France founded the Parti du Peuple Algérien (P.P.A.), of which Messali was elected president. The party's work took him back to Algeria, for which he demanded dominion status and a freely elected Parliament. He was arrested in August 1937 at Algiers and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. In August 1939 Messali was released from prison but was again arrested and detained until March 1941, when a military court sentenced him to 16 years hard labour. He was subsequently pardoned in 1943 by General Giraud. Since then the continual agitation for Algerian independence by Messali and his party have proved a source of anxiety to the French Government. The P.P.A. gradually became the M.T.L.D. (Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques) with Messali as its recognised leader. On May 14, 1952, there were serious disturbances at Orléansville, when four demonstrators were killed. Messali was subsequently expelled from Algeria and taken under escort to Niort in the Deux

Sèvres Department and subsequently to the Sables-d'Olonne. In the summer of 1954 a rift occurred between him and the local leadership of the party which split the party in two. Both factions were outlawed after the outbreak of terrorism in November 1954, but have continued their activity underground.

49. Meynier, General O.

Retired. A leading personality in Algiers. President of the association known as Les Amis du Sahara, and of the Comité d'Organisation du Rallye Méditerranée/Le Cap.

50. Mezerna, Ahmed

Chairman of the now outlawed M.T.L.D. Nationalist Party and editor of *L'Algérie Libre*.

51. Nabal, Colonel Albert

Secretary of the association Les Amis du Sahara. Is very pro-British and always willing to help British trans-Sahara travellers.

52. Pardes, General

Appointed G.O.C. of the Algiers Division in November 1952. Hard working and efficient officer who has always been extremely friendly to us. Was largely responsible for the excellent arrangements made to receive and succour the ship-wrecked survivors of the *Empire Windrush* disaster in March 1954.

53. Parlange, General Gaston

Born August 24, 1897. In April 1955, was appointed General Officer Commanding in charge of civil and military operations in the Aurès and Constantine areas. Commissioned in 1918. Posted to Morocco after the war where he served as a Native Affairs officer. Served in Italy in 1943 as General Officer Commanding 5th Tabors. Wounded and returned to Morocco where he reformed the 17th Tabors, later returning with this regiment to Italy. Promoted Colonel in June 1948, and appointed assistant head of the Political Section at Rabat. Appointed Officer Commanding Tafilalet Region and, in June 1953, Officer Commanding Agadir sub-division and frontier areas of the south.

54. Paternot, Marcel

Born in Algeria in 1912. Wealthy landowner who has come into politics since the war. Represents a constituency of the department of Algiers in the French National Assembly. A Right-wing politician who has frequently condemned the Government's weak policy in Algeria.

55. Perrier, Raoul

Born about 1907. Managing director of *La Dépêche Quotidienne* of Algiers.

56. Pontal, Gaston

Appointed Director-General of Security in Algeria in June 1955. Born May 31, 1914, is a doctor of law. Since 1953 has held the position of *Directeur de la Surveillance du Territoire en Algérie*.

57. Racim, Mohammed

Born Algiers on 24th June, 1896. Moslem miniaturist. Cross of the Legion of Honour (1947). Has exhibited in Paris, London, Rome, Vienna, Bucharest, Oslo, Cairo, Stockholm, Copenhagen and Tunis. Married. Wife is Scandinavian. Very friendly. Is inclined to be given the cold shoulder by French officialdom as he represents the antithesis of the present policy of latinisation.

58. Ribère, Marcel

Educated at Constantine and Algiers University. Doctor of Pharmacy. Served in the last war, is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and holds the

Croix de Guerre and the Distinguished Service Cross. Represents a constituency of the Department of Algiers in the French National Assembly.

59. Rigollet, Léon

Vice-President of the Algiers Chamber of Commerce. A member of various committees dealing with maritime and land transport. Formerly Honorary Polish Consul at Algiers. Croix de Guerre. Officer of the Legion of Honour (1952).

60. Roche, Tony

Secretary-General of the Prefecture, Algiers.
Born 1914. Was in the teaching profession before the war and was appointed in November 1944, Sous-Préfet at Châteaudun. Appointed Secretary-General of the Prefecture in August 1949. Transferred in April 1952 to Algiers, where he is in charge of security, police and visa questions at the Prefecture. Holds the Croix de Guerre and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour (military). Speaks good English and has visited the United Kingdom. Married.

61. Saïah Abdelkader

Born 1889 at Orléansville (Algeria). Member of an old Algerian (Moslem) family established in the Orléansville district for the past five centuries. His grandfather, Saïah Si Henni, was supporter of the French occupation from the beginning, and co-operated with Marshal Bugeaud. Saïah Abdelkader played a leading part in municipal and departmental administration, and was financial delegate to the Government-General. Officer of the Legion of Honour, 1920. Counsellor of the Republic, 1946. Delegate to the Algerian Assembly since 1948, when he was elected Vice-President. President of the Assembly, 1949-50, 1951-52 and again in 1955-56. Is pro-French and held in high esteem by the French authorities, and for that reason looked upon by extremists as a French puppet. Married in May 1954 at Versailles to Mme. Dalin, a Frenchwoman, previously private secretary to the former Governor-General.

62. Schiaffino, Laurent

Born about 1907. Wealthiest shipowner in Algeria. Owner of the Schiaffino Line, with many other interests centred around the port of Algiers. President of the Chamber of Commerce of Algiers and of the Région Economique (federation of the Chambers of Commerce of Algeria). Elected Senator for Department of Algiers in June 1955.

63. Seiberras, Georges

Owner of the largest cinema circuit in French North Africa. Pro-British and very helpful.

64. Soustelle, Jacques, C.B.E.

Governor-General of Algeria. Born in 1912. M. Soustelle joined General de Gaulle in London in 1941 and came to Algiers in 1943, immediately after the liberation. He has been a Deputy to the National Assembly (de Gaulle's party, R.P.F.) since 1945 and was at one time asked to form a government. Appointed Governor-General of Algeria in February 1955. Both he and his wife are distinguished ethnologists and have taken part in many expeditions, particularly in Mexico. The Governor-General is friendly and speaks good English. He is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and a Commander of the British Empire.

65. Sportisse, Mme. Alice

Communist deputy for the Department of Oran to the French National Assembly.

66. Tamzali, Mustapha

Born at Bougie (Algeria), July 1885. One of the wealthiest Moslem industrialists, exporters (chiefly olive oil) and property owners in Algiers. Has long-standing business connexions with the United Kingdom. Is Honorary Treasurer of the Algiers Chamber of Commerce. Loyal to régime but professes dissatisfaction at slow pace of moslemisation of public services.

67. Urbani, Henri

Deputy Secretary-General for Economic Affairs. Born 1902. A former barrister at the Court of Appeal, after which he entered Government Service. Discharges his heavy duties, which involve considerable contact with the Algerian Assembly, with tact and ability, and is generally liked. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Married.

CHAPTER II.—MOROCCO (FRENCH ZONE)

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1013/1

No. 10

MOROCCO—FRENCH ZONE—QUARTERLY REPORT,
SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER 1954

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received January 10)

(No. 8. Confidential)

Rabat,

January 3, 1955.

Sir,
With reference to my despatch No. 58 of the 16th of October last, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on the 31st of December.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca, to the British Middle East Offices at Fayid and Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.,

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

FRENCH MOROCCO—QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT,
PERIOD OCTOBER—DECEMBER 1954

General

During the past quarter practically nothing occurred of political significance in the French Zone of Morocco itself. Interest was directed elsewhere—on the disturbances in Tunisia and Algeria, on the debates in Paris about North Africa and on the decision taken at the United Nations to shelve the "Morocco question" for another year. Local news of consequence was restricted to the decree to increase agricultural wages, three major trials of terrorists and the devastation created in the south first by floods and then by an unprecedented invasion of locusts.

Internal

2. There was little terrorism except at Casablanca, where the number of incidents remained fairly constant until Christmas, when there was a serious recrudescence of them: several of these were the work of counter-terrorists and it was widely suspected that Frenchmen had been implicated though none were held for trial. Demonstrations were expected on the 18th of November, the anniversary of the former "Fête du Trône," but except for some strikes and the closing of shops in certain quarters, little attention was paid to it.

3. The police were successful in rounding up terrorists and three major trials were held at Marrakesh, Oujda and Casablanca. At Marrakesh four men were sentenced to death and one to five years' hard labour for the murders of two French officials and for the wounding of the "Chef de Région" there in the summer: considering how recently the crimes had been committed this was regarded as a good augury for speeding up the wheels of justice, which were moving distressingly slowly in other cases. At Oujda the trial was held of ninety-three men who were charged with having organised or taken an active part in the Oujda

massacres on the 16th of August, 1953: of the accused, twenty-two were sentenced to death (including seven in their absence) and another forty-nine were given sentences varying from two years' imprisonment to twenty years' imprisonment with hard labour: eighteen were acquitted. At Casablanca six sentences of death and sentences of imprisonment for varying terms were pronounced on the terrorists responsible for the bomb outrage at the "Marché Central" on Christmas Eve of last year, which resulted in 19 deaths and over 30 people being seriously injured (see paragraph 2 of my report for that quarter).

4. At the end of the year some nine hundred persons were still in gaol awaiting trial for various crimes of violence, though only a portion of them are likely to have been guilty of terrorist acts for political motives. The difficulty, however, remains of bringing them to trial within a reasonable lapse of time under the French judicial procedure, and this is further complicated here by preliminary decisions having to be taken as to which of the accused are to appear before the French civil courts as common criminals and which before the military courts as terrorists. It is generally conceded that many acts of personal vengeance have masqueraded under the guise of terrorism and that the Istiqlal have lost control of the campaign of violence which they started.

Political

5. A dahir was published raising agricultural wages on the 1st of October from 180 to 230 francs per day, the additional benefits in kind to continue as hitherto. In order that this increase should not be passed on to the consumer, the importers of fertilisers and of agricultural machinery agreed, at the request of the Protectorate authorities, to reduce their prices by a small amount. The expected legislation relating to trades unions (paragraph 8 of my last Quarterly Report) had not been introduced by the end of the year, the matter being still under the consideration of the authorities concerned in Paris.

6. The Resident-General visited Paris in October where he saw the President of the Republic, M. Mendès France, M. Christian Fouchet, Marshal Juin and other leading personalities: the Glaoui and a considerable number of important Moroccans of different political persuasions were there at the same time. Although active discussions were reported to have taken place, no apparent progress was made either with political reforms or with a solution of the dynastic question. The latter indeed receded somewhat into the background and there were rumours that the Istiqlal were becoming less intransigent regarding the restoration of the ex-Sultan, the extent of whose popularity began to appear doubtful and whose return to the throne would not be tolerated by the French. The reports, however, of the present Sultan buying a villa in Tangier were regarded as indicating his willingness to be relieved of his high office and the French would doubtless like to find a successor who would be generally acceptable, since the establishment of a Regency Council, which had been widely discussed, would create difficulties of a religious character and had been criticised by some as presaging the replacement of the Sultanate by a republic. On his return from Europe the Glaoui told the Press that he was ready to discuss current problems with representatives of all sections of Moroccan opinion provided (1) that France defined her position unequivocally towards the present Sultan, (2) that the authorities took firm action to re-establish order in the country, and (3) that any discussions should take place in Morocco and not in France. During the quarter many political exiles were allowed to return to their homes and there was a slight lessening of the political tension.

United Nations

7. The General Assembly of the United Nations placed the "Morocco question" last on its agenda except for Cyprus. When the subject came up for debate, the Syrian delegate and delegates of other countries of the Arab-Asian group indulged in their usual diatribes against the present French régime, and their draft resolution was supported by countries of the Soviet bloc. After the United States delegate had expressed his disapproval of the resolution and when it became known that sufficient support would not be forthcoming from the Latin Americans, the Iraqi delegate requested a short recess and a resolution was finally proposed by the Arab-Asian delegates, and adopted, deciding to postpone consideration of the item to the forthcoming session next year. This satisfactory outcome has been variously attributed to the new line taken by the United States and to the success

of M. Mendès-France's diplomacy during his recent visit to Washington and New York, when he was at pains to explain the importance of being given time to pursue his liberal policy towards North Africa.

Foreign Broadcasts

8. Both M. Mendès-France and the United States Ambassador in Cairo made representations to the Egyptian Government regarding their propaganda towards North Africa. As a result the objectionable broadcasts from Radio Cairo became less frequent. The broadcasts from Radio Budapest, however, continued as before and there was no change in the tone of the broadcasts from Radio Tetuan.

The Lyautey Centenary

9. The centenary of Marshal Lyautey's birth was celebrated on the 21st of November throughout the French Zone. Impressive military parades and other commemorative ceremonies took place in Rabat and Casablanca, which were attended by the Resident-General and all the French and Moroccan notables. Admiral Sir Michael Denny, Commander-in-Chief, Home Fleet, was paying a formal visit at the time and was invited to attend the parades, together with the officers on his staff. Their presence on these occasions was greatly appreciated in view of the special honours which the Royal Navy had paid to Marshal Lyautey from Gibraltar.

The "Conseil du Gouvernement"

10. In its annual December session the "Conseil du Gouvernement" considered the budget for 1955. It allows for the expenditure of approximately 100 milliards of francs (as against rather over 90 milliards last year), about 70 per cent. being for ordinary expenditure and the remainder for capital investment. France would contribute 18 milliards of francs towards capital investments, approximately 5 milliards more than last year.

Damage suffered in Southern Morocco owing to Floods and Locusts

11. Exceptionally large swarms of locusts invaded Southern Morocco in November. The Resident-General requested the Food and Agriculture Organisation to send an expert to study the situation and Mr. John Hewitt, Chief Field Officer of the Desert Locust Control Organisation in East Africa, arrived at the end of November for this purpose: the authorities were much impressed by his report.

12. By the end of November damage to crops had already been assessed at over £1,500,000 and the Administration had to find over £600,000 for financing the Locust Control Organisation. In addition, torrential rains during November destroyed the main date crop in the south-east of the country, the loss being estimated at £800,000. In one day over 20 people were drowned, and many thousands were rendered homeless as the rivers swept away their mud-built houses. Special measures were taken by the Protectorate authorities to provide relief for the victims of these catastrophes.

Visit of the Commander-in-Chief, Home Fleet

13. Admiral Sir Michael Denny, Commander-in-Chief, Home Fleet, paid a formal visit to Casablanca in H.M.S. *Apollo* from the 19th to the 24th of November and took the occasion in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief, East Atlantic, in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, to return the call paid on him by Admiral Sap, as Commander of the Moroccan sub-zone. The usual receptions and entertainments were given and the visit was the occasion of great rejoicing both among the British colony in Casablanca and among the French residents. The Commander-in-Chief called on the Resident-General at Rabat, where he and his officers were invited to attend the "Lyautey Centenary" ceremonies, and he entertained the Resident-General to luncheon in H.M.S. *Apollo*.

Visitors

14. M. Chevallier, Secretary of State for War, and M. Jourdan, Directeur du Cabinet of M. Fouchet, visited Morocco in December.

15. Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, made a tour of United States military installations in November.

Appointments

16. General Louis Murtin (Général de Brigade Aérien) arrived in October to take over the command of the air force from General Frandon who was given a command in France.

17. Colonel Kittani ben Hamu was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general by the French High Command, thus becoming the first Moroccan ever to attain the rank of general in the French armed forces.

18. In November M. André Knoertzer, who was President of the Court of Appeal since 1945, was appointed to the same post at Algiers. At the end of December General Massiet du Biest, Chef de Région at Agadir, succeeded General d'Hautville as Chef de Région at Marrakesh, the latter having retired after being seriously wounded by a terrorist in June last.

19. M. Emmanuel Durand, Assistant Secretary-General of the Protectorate, retired at the end of December after 38 years in the public service: he was the only remaining official who had been originally appointed by Marshal Lyautey. He has been given the title of Honorary Secretary-General of the Protectorate, with duties as Counsellor to the Protectorate Government.

JM 2181/5

No. 11

TRADE UNIONISM IN MOROCCO AND THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL TO INTRODUCE TRADE UNION LEGISLATION

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received March 31)

(No. 21. Confidential)
Sir,

Rabat,
March 28, 1955.

In paragraph 7 of my despatch No. 53 of the 23rd of September, 1954, I had the honour to report that legislation was shortly expected for the establishment of trades unions in Morocco to provide for the professional needs of their members but from which politics would be strictly excluded. I subsequently enquired at intervals how soon the relevant "dahir" would be published but was always told that the subject was still being studied in Paris. Whatever may have been the cause of this long delay during M. Mendès-France's tenure of office, the Administration have now been placed in an embarrassing position by the Moroccan leaders here who, after discussions with representatives of the International Confederation of Free Trades Unions (I.C.F.T.U.), have illegally anticipated action by the Government by setting up a "Union Marocaine du Travail." It is expected that this will stimulate the early publication of a "dahir" by the Protectorate authorities.

2. For an understanding of the present position, and of the Moroccan personalities involved, I would ask you to refer to my despatch No. 65 of the 24th of December, 1952, which set out briefly the history of the trades union movement in this country and described the determined and effective action by its leaders in the organisation of the serious riots which took place in Casablanca at the end of that year. The Protectorate authorities well remember the part played by Mahjoub ben Seddik, Taieb Bouazza and their confederates on that occasion and have decided that they shall not again wield their power to further the political ends of the Istiqlal or of the Communists: in this very young country where the populace can be so readily beguiled, or terrorised, it is hardly surprising that they should insist on this point. I have had a general discussion about trades unions with M. Cambau, the official at the Residency who has been dealing with the subject, and the information given below is largely based on my conversation with him.

3. Since the arrival of M. Lacoste in Morocco and the assumption of office by M. Mendès-France in August last, the events leading up to the present position on the trade union side have had little relation to the policy which was being elaborated on paper by the Protectorate authorities and studied by the competent departments of the French Government. In August M. Oldenbroek, Secretary-General of the I.C.F.T.U., and M. Robert Bothereau, Secretary-General of the "Force Ouvrière," had an interview with M. Mendès-France, after which the Confederation addressed a memorandum to M. Fouchet, then Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, asking the French Government to introduce liberal legislation for the establishment of trades unions in Morocco. On the 28th of September Mahjoub ben Seddik and Taieb Bouazza were let out of prison, and were immediately approached by the Communists, the "Confédération Général de Travail" (C.G.T.), the Istiqlal and the I.C.F.T.U.: the C.G.T. sent one of their senior officials, M. Marcel Dufriche, to win their support in competition against the I.C.F.T.U. and the non-Communist trades unions. The Moroccan leaders, however, had had time for reflexion since 1952 and appreciated that they had made many enemies, particularly in the United States, by their former sponsorship of the C.G.T. and the Communist cause. They therefore felt that it would be wiser to accept the encouragement of the I.C.F.T.U. and to reject the overtures of the C.G.T. The Residency adopted a reserved attitude towards this change of front, since it was unusual for trained Communists to change their convictions so readily and they distrusted them. Bouazza and ben Seddik, however, made no concealment of their continuing interest in politics and on the 16th of January they published a statement in the name of a newly-formed "Comité d'Organisation pour l'établissement et le développement du syndicalisme au Maroc" to the effect that they were directly interested in current political developments and, in particular, that the question of the Throne must be settled before any legislation for the establishment of trades unions could be accepted.

4. In the meantime, negotiations had been proceeding for the despatch of a delegation from the I.C.F.T.U. to Morocco and it was suggested that it should consist of M. Bécu (its chairman) and M. Oldenbroek, and also M. Tlili, Deputy Secretary of the "Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens" (U.G.T.T.), the organisation in Tunis which had always been favourably looked upon by trade unionists in the United States. The Resident-General, however, refused to allow M. Tlili to come here since he would merely create difficulties and the Administration were anyhow against using Tunisian trade unions as precedents for Morocco owing to their political activities. On hearing this decision M. Bécu and M. Oldenbroek almost cancelled their proposed visit, but they eventually spent about a fortnight here at the beginning of March. The Resident-General was absent in Paris and they were received by M. Papon, Secretary-General of the Protectorate, with whom they hoped to discuss the draft decree but he gave them little encouragement. They saw the principal French and Moroccan trades union leaders and, before leaving for Brussels, they held a Press conference at which they expressed their astonishment that, although the French employers' association ("Patronat") and the "Force Ouvrière" were in favour of granting trade union rights to Moroccans, M. Papon had shown them a decree which had been discussed with these two organisations and also with the "Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens" (C.F.T.C.) but never with the Moroccans themselves—who would presumably be presented with a *fait accompli*. The delegation therefore regretted that they had achieved little during their stay here. M. Cambau told me that although the Residency had been sounding Moroccan opinion indirectly they clearly could not consult any Moroccans officially, since no Moroccan organisation had yet been established. Mr. Wayland Young, who recently visited Rabat to collect material for articles for the *Observer*, had an interview with ben Seddik in the course of which the latter complained bitterly to him of the strong French control which would be established under the proposed legislation as also of the ban on trades unions having anything to do with politics. He told him that when the new law was published in a few weeks' time he hoped to arrange a Trades Union Congress with the consent of the Protectorate authorities: if they declined, he was proposing to defy them and hold a congress just the same despite the penalties provided for under the law for holding illegal meetings, since he did not feel that the Protectorate authorities would, in fact, dare take action against him in view of the effect which this might have on world opinion.

5. In the event, ben Seddik decided not to wait, and he held a meeting at Casablanca on the 20th of March at which a central body was set up called the "Union Marocaine de Travail" (U.M.T.) which was to be affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. The Press reported that this meeting was attended by representatives of over 20 future local unions, though M. Cambau told me that only four or five of the principal leaders were present. An appeal was addressed to the working classes of Morocco for a joint effort without distinction of creed, nationality, or race, to carry on the struggle "for labour, for the suppression of unemployment, for fair wages, for collective conventions, for social security, for a fair division of wealth, for respect for the rights of man and for a democratic régime": it was carefully worded to stress the social functions of the new organisation without referring to any controversial political aspirations. The meeting also appointed the following officers for the U.M.T.:—

Secretary-General: Mahjoub ben Seddik.
Assistant Secretary-General: Taieb Bouazza.
Treasurer: Abdelkader Awab.
Assistant Treasurer: Tibary Mohamed.
Assessors:—

Salah Meskini.
Mohamed Hachim.
Cherkaoui Maati.
Seddik Mohammed.
Mohamed Kassy.

6. The Residency were considerably taken aback by this unexpected development and issued a brief communiqué stating that the creation of the new organisation was illegal since here, as elsewhere in the world, trade union rights could not be granted except by law. M. Cambau said that the Residency could, if necessary, take legal action against the Moroccan leaders but they would

obviously have to move warily in view of possible repercussions in the I.C.F.T.U. and other quarters. In any event, the Government's hand has now been forced to the extent of its being necessary for them to publish their proposed legislation at a very early date.

7. Speaking generally about the major problem of trade unionism here, namely, the need for its being non-political, M. Cambau said that the bourgeois members of the Istiqlal Party were doubtless already apprehensive of ben Seddik's intentions. He quoted the case of Tunis where the U.G.T.T. had opposed the Neo Destour Party last year and said that the Moroccan Nationalists might likewise have qualms about their own future authority unless the political influence of local trades unions were drastically curtailed. He added that ben Seddik's objective was the establishment of purely Moroccan unions but this, of course, would be wholly unacceptable to the Protectorate authorities. He mentioned also the unfortunate effect of the Americans and others encouraging the I.C.F.T.U. in North Africa: while the organisation was a most valuable weapon against Communism in Europe, its influence here merely stimulated political aspirations among trade unionists to support nationalists movements whose subversive activities suited the Communists only too well. It remains to be seen what developments will follow on the publication of the new legislation. Since it had been so widely bandied about in draft form I asked if I might have a copy but was told that since it was still undergoing modification, this was impossible.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and Madrid, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier and Tetuan, to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca, and to the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

JM 1016/23

No. 12

VISIT OF MONSIEUR PIERRE JULY, MINISTER FOR MOROCCAN AND TUNISIAN AFFAIRS, TO MOROCCO, APRIL 1-4, 1955

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received April 12)

(No. 22. Unclassified)
Sir,

Rabat,
April 4, 1955.

I have the honour to inform you that Monsieur Pierre July, Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, paid an unexpected visit to this country during the weekend: he was accompanied by members of his personal staff, namely, Commandant Salvy, Monsieur Olivier Manet, Monsieur Marc-Edmond Morgaut and Monsieur de La Tour (Assistant Director at the Ministry for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs). His aeroplane was delayed on the way and he only arrived at 9.30 on the evening of the 1st of April at Rabat/Salé airport where he was met by the Resident-General and his staff. Monsieur July then proceeded to the Residency where, after talking with Monsieur Chancel, "Délégué" at the Residency, and Monsieur Papon, Secretary-General of the Protectorate, he gave a short statement to the Press in which he said how pleased he was to visit Morocco again and said that the particular problem of the moment was Casablanca. This city had nearly 800,000 inhabitants and an area as great as Paris, but the control authorities were only one-quarter as many as in the country districts and the police force was only one-quarter of the size of that of a modern city of equal importance. If one also took into account the lack of employment, the difference in social development between the older inhabitants and the more recent arrivals from the countryside, and the mixture of ten races and of three religions, one could get an idea of the complexity of the problems confronting the authorities to-day. Finally there had been the recent outbreak of terrorism against which Monsieur July expressed his determination to fight relentlessly.

2. On the following day, Monsieur July received the senior officials of the Protectorate and, after placing a wreath on the tomb of Marshal Lyautey, he paid an official visit on His Majesty the Sultan. A luncheon was given for him at the Residency and he

spent the rest of the day in meeting all the French and Moroccan officials of consequence and the leading personalities of the "Conseil de Gouvernement," but, owing to the shortness of his stay, he was unable to receive the Consular Corps. On the 3rd of April he and the Resident-General left for Casablanca where they were met by the "Chef de la Région" (Monsieur Fauquenot), His Excellency the Pasha (Hedj Bouchaib bel Korchi) and the "Délégué aux Affaires Urbaines" (Monsieur Ecorcheville). After meeting the other principal officials of the municipality and attending an official luncheon, Monsieur July presided over a meeting to discuss problems relating to security and unemployment in Casablanca; he then received representatives of the French political parties and of local patriotic associations. Monsieur July finished his day with a short Press conference in which he explained that the purpose of his journey had been to establish contacts: he added that many, though not all, of the local troubles were due to external events and influences and stressed the importance of giving opportunities to the youth of the country to play a larger part in its affairs. He said that he would shortly return to Morocco for a longer visit and would open the barrage at Bin el Ouidane on the 20th of April. The Minister and his staff left Casablanca by air this morning.

3. Even though this brief visit has obviously been too short to enable the Minister to obtain any very useful information or impressions, it has given him the opportunity of paying his respects on the Sultan and of meeting all the principal officials here and at Casablanca, so that when he returns he will be able to devote his time to studying current problems with fewer official and social obligations. The Press gave Monsieur July a warm welcome but *La Vigie Marocaine* did not fail to observe that it was the first occasion on which the Minister responsible for Moroccan affairs had personally visited this country during his tenure of office.

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4. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to His Excellency the Governor and the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and

Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consuls at Casablanca and Fez, to the British Middle East Office at Fayid and at Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

CONFIDENTIAL

JM 1013/4

No. 13

FRENCH MOROCCO: QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT

Period January-March 1955

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received April 4)

Rabat,

April 7, 1955.

General

During the past quarter the political situation was static. The Government of M. Mendès-France took no action on reforms before the debate in the National Assembly in February and, when it fell, the new Ministers wished to study the Resident-General's proposals before committing themselves. They expressed their intention of dealing with Morocco separately from Tunis but it was not expected that they would risk controversial issues here until they were on more solid ground both in Tunisia and in Algeria. It was, therefore, hardly surprising that M. Lacoste should have come back empty-handed from the various visits which he paid to Paris, excepting for decisions to reorganise and reinforce the police at Casablanca, where terrorism was getting beyond the control of the existing forces of law and order.

2. In March newspapers published what purported to be an outline of the reforms which the new Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, M. Pierre July, had recommended to the French Government, namely:—

- (1) The division of Morocco into provinces to be administered by Moroccan Governors (nominated by the Resident-General) who would be assisted by French "Provincial Residents" and by elected provincial assemblies.
- (2) Reorganisation of the police.
- (3) Decentralisation of Casablanca's administrative arrangements.
- (4) The suppression of terrorism and of counter-terrorism.
- (5) Moroccans to be given more jobs in the public service and private enterprises to be encouraged to give Moroccans more responsibilities in the management of their affairs.
- (6) Trades union legislation.

The above was coupled with a reaffirmation that "there was no dynastic question" and that the French would only treat with the present Sultan. This report gave only a partial and over-simplified presentation of M. Lacoste's proposals while M. July was continuing his study of the remainder in greater detail. It did, however, evoke a statement by Si Bekkai and other Nationalist leaders rejecting the French policy outright on the grounds of the Government's intention to stand by the present Sultan and to introduce reforms unilaterally. It was announced that M. July would go to Morocco after Easter to study current problems on the spot and he did in fact pay a preliminary and unexpected week-end visit here at the beginning of April, which enabled him to establish contact with the leading personalities of the country. This delay in the introduction of reforms weakened M. Lacoste's personal position to a certain extent although it was appreciated that his inability to embark on the constructive policy expected of him had been due to the French Government's preoccupations elsewhere in North Africa.

Internal

Trades Unions

3. So far the only delay to cause embarrassment to the Protectorate authorities was over the trade union legislation, the introduction of which had been expected ever since last autumn. In the meantime the Istiqlal, the Communists, the "Confédération Général du Travail" (C.G.T.) and the International Confederation of Free Trades Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) had all been trying to win the favour of the former Moroccan trades union leaders, Mahjoub ben Seddik and Taieb Bouazza, as soon as they were let out of the prisons to which they had been confined since their complicity in the Casablanca riots of December 1952. The Moroccan leaders, despite their C.G.T. background, felt that it would

be wiser to associate themselves with the I.C.F.T.U. and its president (M. Bécu) and secretary-general (M. Oldenbroek) visited Morocco early in March. Besides seeing French and Moroccan trade union leaders they saw the Secretary-General of the Protectorate with whom they hoped to discuss the draft legislation but he gave them little encouragement. Before leaving they held a Press conference at which they expressed their astonishment that the proposed decree should have been discussed with representatives of the French employers and of the French trades unions but never with the Moroccans themselves, and they regretted that they should have achieved so little during their stay here. The Residency, however, were not in a position to consult the latter since no Moroccan organisation had yet come into being which could appoint representatives for discussions with them. Shortly afterwards the Moroccan leaders, ben Seddik and Bouazza, held a meeting at which a central body was set up called the "Union Marocaine du Travail." The Residency thereupon issued a communiqué pointing out that, in the absence of legislation, the creation of this organisation was illegal but they did not institute legal proceedings against the Moroccan leaders for fear of possible repercussions in the I.C.F.T.U. and other quarters.

Terrorism

4. The activities of the terrorists in Casablanca fluctuated considerably during the quarter. For three weeks during January, and again during the last fortnight in March, there were intervals when there were no attacks at all, but at other periods the tension was greater than ever before. The European population had become inured to the terrorists' frequent attacks on Moroccans in the native quarters, but when, during the latter part of December and early in January, an increasing number of Europeans were killed or wounded, the tension rose rapidly. Counter-terrorism, which only became really serious about Christmas, seemed to be provoking the terrorists into a policy of indiscriminate reprisals against Europeans. The situation was dangerous but the French authorities opposed the counter-terrorists firmly and their activities soon diminished: latterly, reported instances of counter-terrorism have been very few and far between. Unfortunately, however, this did not lead to any truce on the terrorists' side and when, early in February after a lull of three weeks, their activities were resumed, several attacks were made upon Europeans living or working in the native quarters. The French population again became very nervous and there was bitter criticism of the local authorities, especially the "Chef de la Région," whose dismissal was demanded in a telegram sent to M. Lacoste by one of the local French patriotic associations.

5. This deterioration in the situation focused attention on the inadequacy in numbers, equipment and organisation of the Casablanca security forces. A programme of reorganisation, reinforcement and re-equipment, involving the expenditure of a very substantial sum of money, was instituted and at the end of the quarter it seems already to be bearing fruit. Responsibility for the various security forces in the city was centralised and transferred from the "Chef de la Région," who had too many other burdens, to the French official, also of prefectorial rank, who is directly responsible for the city administration. The Pasha is closely associated with him and it looks as if with this new team the security forces will be put to much more effective use. The reorganisation coincided with another lull in the terrorist campaign and both factors seem to have conduced to a revival of French self-confidence which earlier had been badly shaken.

6. Elsewhere in the country terrorist attacks were fortunately few and the police continued to round up more culprits. A particularly successful operation was carried out in the extreme south-east of the country against gangs which had been engaged on recruiting and arming local tribesmen: many arrests were made and large stocks of arms were found, and it was reported that the conspirators had been expecting help from Algerian terrorists to make trouble in that area.

Economic

7. The Protectorate authorities had for some time been seeking means of protecting Moroccan industries, which they could not do by raising customs duties owing to the provisions of our Treaty of 1856 and of the Act of Algéciras. Since the decision of The Hague Court in August 1952 (see my political report for that quarter) there had been an alarming increase of imports "sans devises" (without

allocation of foreign currency) and the local textile industry in particular was threatened with serious unemployment owing to the importation of cheap textiles from abroad. The French Government, therefore, asked Her Majesty's Government whether they would negotiate a commercial treaty in place of that which had been signed in 1938 but which had never been ratified owing to the war and other causes: this request was granted. In the meantime the Protectorate authorities issued a decree at the end of March imposing, unilaterally, global quotas on certain textiles and electrical cables: this was stated to be a temporary measure to protect local industries until such time as customs tariffs could be imposed for the purpose.

Appointments

8. In January M. de Montrémy succeeded M. Lamy as Director of Finance, M. Sedille succeeded M. Knoertzer as President of the Court of Appeal and General Franchi took up his duties as "Chef de la Région" of Fez on General Laparra's retirement. In February General Parlange was appointed "Chef de la Région" of Agadir in place of General Massiet du Biest, who had been transferred to Marrakesh. In March Rear-Admiral Antoine, Chief of Staff at Saigon, took over the command of French naval forces in Morocco from Rear-Admiral Sap, who was transferred to Toulon, and M. Gabriel Eriau, "Préfet" of the Department of Basses Alpes, assumed his duties as Assistant Secretary-General of the Protectorate in the place of M. Emmanuel Durand, who had retired at the end of last year.

Visitors

9. Mr. E. W. Meiklerid, Her Majesty's Minister (Commercial) at Paris, visited Morocco in the latter half of February.

10. In March General Sir Gordon MacMillan, Governor of Gibraltar, came to Rabat to return General Guillaume's visit to Gibraltar at the time of the Coronation. Other visitors included Mr. Cameron Cobbold (Governor of the Bank of England), Air Vice-Marshal Campbell (commanding the Canadian Air Division in Europe) and Mr. Campbell Smith (Commercial Secretary at the Canadian Embassy in Paris). There were also the usual visits by senior officers of the United States armed forces.

JM 1016/22

No. 14

SECOND VISIT OF M. JULY, FRENCH MINISTER FOR MOROCCAN AND TUNISIAN AFFAIRS, TO MOROCCO, APRIL 19-26, 1955

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Macmillan. (Received May 3)

(No. 24. Unclassified)

Rabat,

April 29, 1955.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 22 of April 4, I have the honour to inform you that M. Pierre July, Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, paid a second visit to this country from the 19th to the 26th of this month. I enclose an extract⁽¹⁾ from *La Vigie Marocaine* giving the very full programme which had been prepared for him.

2. M. July arrived by air on the afternoon of April 19 and was met by the Resident-General, the Grand Vizier and all the senior military and civil authorities of the Protectorate, both French and Moroccan. He travelled with his wife and his daughter and was accompanied by the following:—

- Mme. Germaine Peyrolles, a former Vice-President of the National Assembly and Deputy for Seine-et-Oise;
- M. Raingeard, Deputy for Loire-Inférieure;
- M. Gros, Senator representing the French in Morocco;
- Commandant Salvy, a former "Officier des Affaires Indigènes" here, and now a member of M. July's Cabinet, and his wife;
- M. Renard, a "Contrôleur Civil" attached to his "Cabinet";
- M. Basdevant, formerly of the Quai d'Orsay and now Director of Political Affairs, with the rank of Minister, in M. July's Ministry;
- M. Merlié, "Contrôleur Civil" at his Ministry;
- M. Cauer, Secretary-General of the "Conférence Nationale des Comités d'aménagement du territoire," which is concerned with economic planning and public works projects.

From the airport the party proceeded to the Residency and thence to the Imperial Palace where the Sultan received the Minister with Mme. Peyrolles and M. Raingeard. There was a formal exchange of greetings in which M. July informed the Sultan that he would shortly be receiving a reply from the President of the French Republic to the message which he had sent to him earlier in the month: (this had contained a re-affirmation by His Majesty of the legitimacy of his succession to the throne and an expression of his desire to be consulted fully with regard to the proposed reforms.) His Majesty conferred on the Minister the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Ouissam Alaouite. M. July then held a short Press conference at the Residency in which he explained that the purpose of this visit was to get to grips with the facts of the situation and that he would pay special attention to the problems presented by Casablanca, the youth of the country and education. He expressed his regret that time did not permit him to visit towns other than those named on his programme and, in particular, Oujda, which had sent him a special invitation. He was questioned about the prospects of Trade Union legislation being introduced and replied that he would probably be able to make some announcement on the subject at the end of his stay in Morocco.

3. M. July devoted the following day to the inauguration of the barrage at Bin el Ouidane and the hydro-electric plants included in the scheme. He was accompanied by the Resident-General and most of the senior officials of the Protectorate, but owing to unavoidable engagements in Rabat I asked Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca to represent me for the occasion. Some 600 guests were invited and I am forwarding to you, under separate cover, a copy of a report which Mr. Pares has addressed to me regarding the proceedings of the day. The artificial lake behind the barrage, which is over 400 ft. high, is larger than the lake of Annecy and the annual capacity of the hydro-electric plants at Bin el Ouidane and Afourer is 160 million and 390 million kWh. respectively. After passing through the turbines the water will be used for an irrigation scheme in the plain of Kasba Tadla, bringing some 120,000 hectares of desert land into profitable cultivation by Moroccan "fellahs." In the evening the Minister gave a banquet at

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

Casablanca for the President of Brazil, who was passing through on an official visit to Portugal (see Mr. Pares' despatch No. 13 of April 25).

4. On April 21 M. July visited Casablanca accompanied by the Resident-General, the "Délégué" and the Secretary-General of the Protectorate. In a short address to the municipal authorities, he stressed the importance of breaking down the administration of the city into smaller units so as to enable closer contact to be kept with its population, and he warned those who were the dupes of extremist propaganda that they were slowing down the economic activity of the country and were thereby bringing hunger to their compatriots with whom they should be building the Morocco of the future: he added that he had requested funds to bring the police force up to full strength. Later in the morning M. July and his party made an extended tour of the port, and he received representatives of the "Patronat" and of Trade Union organisations. After attending a luncheon for the President of Brazil and seeing him off on his onward journey he spent the afternoon visiting the "Carrières Centrales" and other native quarters. He finished the day by driving round the European residential section of Anfa and returned to Rabat the same evening.

5. On April 22 M. July visited Fez with the Resident-General and the two French Deputies. He received the local French and Moroccan notables at the Residency and it had been announced beforehand that he would grant no interviews or have any individual presentations made to him: the French residents, however, who somewhat resented this, waylaid him at the entrance to the Residency. Later in the morning he visited the new quarters of the Arts and Crafts industry and the Training School for tanners, and he inspected the shanty towns which had sprung up outside the ramparts on the north side of the "médiina."

6. In the afternoon the Minister proceeded to Meknès where he held a reception for French and Moroccan officials at the Maison de France. In a short address he stressed that the problems in Morocco and in Tunisia were different from one another and had to be treated accordingly: he said that if the Government were ready to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Moroccan people they were equally determined to put an end to excesses and he invited those who had been misguided by extremists to think again. He then visited the Chamber of Agriculture where he made a speech of considerable political importance, being on the day after the signature of the Franco-Tunisian Agreement: I enclose an extract from *La Vigie Marocaine*⁽¹⁾ giving its text in full, since it not only summarises his attitude towards current Moroccan problems but also reveals his personality to an interesting extent. Meknès is the centre of a rich agricultural region and the meeting was presided over by M. Aucouturier, who has been the regular spokesman for the interests of the French "colons" besides being President of numerous agricultural and business enterprises. Speaking as a Deputy from a French agricultural district, M. July appreciated that the problems in this region corresponded closely with those of his own electors. He was confident that there was a great future for North Africa, despite the present difficult times which were the common experience of all countries while growing but not yet past the age of very precocious youth. Although in some 20 years the population of North Africa would be approximating that of France, he hoped that their livelihood could be found by the development of industry and mineral wealth which would give them the purchasing power to buy the excess agricultural produce for which it was difficult to find markets abroad to-day. One could not deny that France was under attack in the whole of North Africa where events in Algeria and in Morocco were closely inter-related, but he felt sure that, with the support of the Resident-General, France would succeed in restoring peace in this country. France would have to fight against her avowed enemies and win over to her side those who had been led astray by them. Work, food and housing must be found for those who needed it and the French were already bearing a heavy financial burden on this score, but if it was the duty of the French to relieve hardship it was equally their duty to maintain order. The French Government had firmly decided to uphold the position of France in Morocco and throughout the large stretches of Africa over which she had responsibilities and common interests with the inhabitants, from Estrasbourg to Brazzaville.

7. On the following day the Minister and the Resident-General opened the annual Casablanca Fair, after which M. July received representatives of some employers' associations and then a delegation of ten Moroccans who were

(1) Not printed.

generally regarded as moderate nationalists and who had asked for an audience with him. After an informal lunch with local journalists he and his suite left by air for Marrakesh where he was welcomed by the "Chef de la Région" and the Glaoui. He visited the local agricultural school at Souiella and held a reception at the Bahia Palace for notables from Marrakesh, Mogador and Safi. M. July then visited the Glaoui at his palace and in the evening a banquet was held at the Hotel de la Mamounia.

8. On April 24 the Minister flew to Agadir where he was met by the "Chef de la Région," the Pasha and local authorities. In a short speech he said how impressed he was by the development of the city which he had not visited for twenty years, and he referred to the possibility of a railway being built from the mines in the far south, at Tindouf and Fort Gouraud, to bring their produce for shipment from the port of Agadir. He returned to Rabat the same evening.

9. The Minister's last day in Morocco was spent in Rabat itself where he devoted most of his time to studying problems relating to the youth of the country and to education. He visited the recently established "Ecole Marocaine d'Administration" where he was welcomed by the Director of Education, the Director of the School, the Grand Vizier, leading educational authorities and a large number of pupils of the school. M. July made a speech in which he urged that facilities for higher education, in all subjects, should be provided within Morocco itself, and that technical training should be extended to all branches of work for which Moroccans showed aptitude so as to reduce to the minimum the need for employing technicians from abroad. In particular, young Moroccans must be brought to realise that for creating a modern State it was essential that they themselves should enter the public service in all its branches. M. July then inspected the "Ecole Régionale d'Instituteurs" and the "Ecole d'Instruction Professionnelle." In the evening he received the Consular Corps, followed by a number of local personalities of varying interests and importance. In a brief address to the latter he expressed his full confidence in the Resident-General and thanked him in the name of the French Government for all that he had achieved since his appointment here, despite the considerable difficulties which he had overcome in a manner worthy of the highest praise. He hoped that Franco-Moroccan friendship, which he had found to be a living reality, would continue to inspire the endeavours of all, so that when speaking here of France and of Morocco one would imply a single and undivided country.

10. Early on the following morning M. July received the Press reporters and gave them a brief statement about the impressions which he had formed on his tour. He was again questioned about trade union legislation and replied that decisions would be taken shortly but that the subject required further detailed study and that he could say no more for the present. He and his party then left for the airport where they were seen off by the Resident-General and the senior officials of the Protectorate. On his arrival in Paris he told the Press that he had been well satisfied with his journey: France could be proud of what she had achieved in Morocco but he would like to see Moroccans taking a fuller part in the development of their country. From the wide variety of opinions which he had heard he had the impression that people were more concerned with political questions than with the economic problems, the importance of which they appeared not yet to have fully appreciated. France would have to establish a harmonious balance between very strong and widespread aspirations and the vital interests of the country for its future. He was confident, however, that its difficulties could be solved through co-operation and friendship between the French and the Moroccans which, whatever might be said abroad, was the earnest desire of the great majority of both parties.

11. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consuls at Casablanca and Fez, to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York, and to the British Middle East Offices at Fayid and Beirut.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

JM 1016/43

No. 15

REPORT ON THE DEPARTURE OF M. LACOSTE, WITH A SURVEY OF HIS TERM OF OFFICE AND AN ACCOUNT OF LOCAL REACTIONS TO THE APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR, M. GRANDVAL

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 7)

(No. 38. Confidential)
Sir,

Rabat,
July 1, 1955.

With reference to my despatch No. 34 of the 20th of June, I have the honour to inform you that the Resident-General returned to Rabat at the beginning of the week to take leave of the Sultan and to say good-bye to his many friends here. He left Morocco this morning, accompanied by his wife and family, and a large crowd assembled at the airport, where he inspected a guard of honour before his departure. In view of his appointment to be French Ambassador in Ottawa, I went to see him off together with Wing-Commander R. Davidson, D.F.C., C.D., Commanding the Rabat Detachment of the Royal Canadian Air Force. The date also happened to be "Canada Day."

2. It is scarcely a year since M. Lacoste assumed his duties and his tenure of office has been singularly luckless. When he was appointed it was foreseen that his task would be difficult without having the personal support of any of the major French political parties and, being a public servant who had arrived after the fall of the Government which had appointed him, he could not embark on any positive measures without securing the prior approval of the authorities in Paris. From the day of his arrival the extremists on both sides did their utmost to impede his rallying the moderate elements of the country and he was perhaps over-confident that his sincerity of purpose and goodwill towards all men would prove a match for the insidious pressure and threats of his adversaries, who were determined to prevent so much as the discussion of reforms on a broad basis of mutual trust and compromise between Moroccans of differing political opinions. His proposed "Reforms Council" remained a dead letter as did his hopes that the Moroccans themselves might some time find a solution of the dynastic question. The initial period of his stewardship did, however, show a considerable lessening of the political tension, even though he lost some ground through his liberal outlook being criticised as weakness. He was not always fortunate in his choice of advisers and a more vigorous Director of Public Security might have saved him from some of the accusations of laxity in the police administration when the activities of terrorists and of counter-terrorists later reached such serious proportions in Casablanca.

3. In the autumn M. Lacoste began his succession of visits to Paris where he repeatedly urged the French Government to allow him to go ahead with the reforms which he had submitted to them but each time he returned empty-handed: even proposals for the constitution of local trades unions were held in abeyance despite the urgency for their introduction. With the change of Government and two visits to Morocco by the new Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, it was sincerely, if not confidently, hoped that a policy might soon emerge but, to the dismay of all, nothing happened, and many of France's best friends strongly resented being fobbed off with declarations by M. July and others which contained little more than vague generalities and sometimes seemed self-contradictory in their purport. The emergence of counter-terrorism and the Government's apparent lack of capacity or courage to proclaim a policy of any kind greatly lowered the prestige of France in the eyes of the local population and it was not surprising that M. Lacoste's recall at this juncture should have aroused widespread regret even among many who had previously criticised him. These included both the "colon" element who were apprehensive of his liberalism at the outset and also some of the "moderates" who, at a later stage, felt that his lack of achievement had been due to the influence of vested interests: I personally feel that he maintained a position of commendable neutrality throughout. As regards his treatment from the Government, I have heard the comment that he was more fortunate than many of his predecessors, from Marshal Lyautey onwards, in that on leaving here he was at least given another senior appointment in the service of his country.

CONFIDENTIAL

4. The choice of M. Grandval as Resident-General has met with a mixed reception. It is feared that his Jewish origin may be a handicap to him in a Moslem country as also his lack of any previous experience of North African affairs. His record, however, in the Saar and his reputation for being a man of action have been given favourable publicity and regrets have indeed been expressed that he should have explained away his statement about being prepared to act even in disagreement with his Government's policy if he thought it necessary to do so; but his reference in the same speech to the need for restoring to the Residency authority and prestige which, he feared, it had lost in recent years was far less popular. I have so far met few people who know him and those who do prefer to reserve judgment until they have seen him in action here. Coming with a policy largely, it seems, made in Paris and being confronted with a local situation considerably more complex than that left by General Guillaume, his task is an unenviable one and I fear that he may not find the same measure of support and sympathy on his arrival as did M. Lacoste who, in his earlier appointment as "Délégué" and Secretary-General, had proved his worth in this country and by his personal qualities had already won the respect and affection of many Frenchmen and Moroccans.

5. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca, to the British Middle East Offices at Fayid and at Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

CONFIDENTIAL

JM 1016/46

No. 16

**REPORT ON THE ARRIVAL AT RABAT ON JULY 7, 1955, OF THE NEW
RESIDENT-GENERAL OF MOROCCO, M. GILBERT GRANDVAL,
ACCOMPANIED BY THREE OF HIS NEW SENIOR OFFICIALS**

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 12)

(No. 39. Unclassified)
Sir,

Rabat,
July 8, 1955.

With reference to my despatch No. 38 of the 1st of July, I have the honour to inform you that the new Resident-General, M. Gilbert Grandval, arrived by air from Paris at 10.30 a.m. yesterday morning, accompanied by his new officials, General Leblanc, M. Robert and M. Chazelle. In the absence of the "Délégué" who was in Paris, he was met at the airport by M. Maurice Papon, Secretary-General of the Protectorate, and by his Excellency the Grand Vizir: the senior military and civil authorities of the Protectorate were also present. After inspecting a guard of honour M. Grandval and his party proceeded to the Residency and then left for the Kasbah des Oudaias in the native quarter where he was received by the authorities of the municipality and partook of the traditional offering of milk and dates. He returned to the Residency through the main streets of the European town which were decorated for the occasion.

2. In the afternoon the Resident-General paid a formal visit on His Majesty the Sultan at which speeches of welcome were exchanged and M. Grandval was invested with the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Ouissam Alaouite. The Sultan asked to have a talk with him about the present situation as soon as possible and the Glaoui, who was also present, accepted an invitation to luncheon at the Residency early next week. On his way back from the audience the Resident-General placed a wreath on the tomb of Marshal Lyautey, and he called on Si M'Hamed Naciri, Assistant Vizir for Administrative Affairs, who is still in hospital but making a good recovery after the recent attempt on his life at Salé. He then received the Consular Corps at the Residency followed by the principal officials and personalities in the Protectorate among whom were senior officers of the United States Air Force and Navy and the Officer Commanding the Rabat Detachment of the Royal Canadian Air Force: Mr. Julius Holmes, the American Diplomatic Agent at Tangier, also came to Rabat for the occasion. In the evening M. Grandval had all the "Chefs des Régions" to dine with him.

3. The Resident-General said that he had broken with the tradition of arriving by sea at Casablanca, since the journey by air enabled him to start on his work more quickly. Unlike his predecessor, he did not make any political speech on his arrival and it is reported in the Press that he will spend the next few weeks in examining current problems with the local officials before returning to Paris to recommend ways and means of putting into effect the general policy of his Government. The instructions which he received from the Council of Ministers before leaving Paris were summarised by M. Médecin, Secretary-General for Information, as follows:—

"Tout en laissant à M. Grandval une grande latitude d'examen et d'appréciation de la situation politique au Maroc, les directives qui lui ont été données fixent les limites générales de l'action qu'il aura à mener dans le cadre du traité du 30 mars 1912 (traité de Fès qui établit le Protectorat) pour le rétablissement de la sécurité publique, la restauration de l'application normale du traité par l'abandon progressif des méthodes d'administration directes, l'accession accrue des Marocains aux responsabilités du gouvernement et de l'administration, la recherche de la réconciliation entre les diverses tendances de l'opinion."

The general objectives outlined above appear to be very similar to those for which M. Lacoste was striving but M. Grandval has been given much more authority for dealing with them and should have a better chance of success, provided that responsible Moroccans of different political opinions are prepared to co-operate with him towards their fulfilment. The Paris correspondent of *La Vie Marocaine* states that it is with the present Sultan that M. Grandval will consider means for

CONFIDENTIAL

strengthening the Moroccan executive, which is the first requirement for a Franco-Moroccan "dialogue," and that any other interpretation of his mission is "tendentious and partisan." This comment, which was officially inspired, is intended to dispel recent rumours that the new Resident-General would place the dynastic question first on the list of problems to receive his attention.

4. A number of new appointments have been announced of senior officials. M. Burin des Rozières will arrive in a few days' time to replace M. Chancel as "Délégué," accompanied by M. Laurent who will succeed M. Levasseur as Director of the Resident-General's "Cabinet." M. Chazelle, who was with M. Grandval in the Saar, will replace M. Noel as Director of Information. The Departments of the Interior and of Public Security will remain under their present Directors, Colonel Hubert and M. Chevrier respectively, but they will be placed under the general supervision of General Leblanc who will have the title of "Director-General of the Interior": he was "Chef de la Région" at Meknès from 1948 to 1951, after which he served with distinction in Indo-China. M. Robert, who was Director of Finance here shortly after the war, will become Secretary-General of the Protectorate with special responsibility for economic questions while M. Gabriel Eriau, the present Assistant Secretary-General, will continue to exercise his functions in respect of both administrative and economic matters which until recently were divided between two officials of that rank. I shall forward biographical particulars of the new officials separately.

5. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consuls at Casablanca and Fez, to the British Middle East Offices at Fayid and at Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

CONFIDENTIAL

JM 1013/9

No. 17

**POLITICAL REPORT ON THE FRENCH ZONE OF MOROCCO
FOR THE QUARTER ENDED JUNE 30, 1955**

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 21)

(No. 40. Confidential)
Sir,

Rabat,
July 8, 1955.

With reference to my despatch No. 23 of the 8th of April, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on the 30th of June.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis, and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca, to the British Middle East Offices at Fayid and at Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure

**FRENCH MOROCCO—QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT
PERIOD APRIL—JUNE, 1955**

General

The quarter under review is memorable for the attention which has at last been given to French Morocco in Paris rather than for any political developments within the Protectorate itself, where the absence of any constructive governmental action was much resented. After M. Pierre July, the Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, visited the country in April it was hoped that the French Government would approve at least some of the reforms which the Resident-General has recommended last autumn, with such modifications as the passage of time and political considerations in Paris might dictate, but for a variety of reasons the validity of which has never been very clear, at any rate in the Protectorate, they did not adopt this course and decided instead to recall M. Lacoste. After the period of stagnation since General Guillaume's departure over a year ago, the Government may well have thought that, regardless of all else, reforms would stand a better chance of acceptance if confirmed and presented by a fresh Resident-General with a freer mandate for their execution, despite the difficulty of finding a qualified successor for the appointment. Their minds were made up before the murder of M. Lemaigre-Dubreuil in the middle of June, and M. Grandval was chosen after it, but the emotion aroused by this crime galvanised the Government into action and M. Lacoste left Morocco on the 1st of July. In the meantime the internal situation of the country had deteriorated considerably and terrorism in various forms caused increasing anxiety to the Administration.

Political

2. M. July paid two visits to Morocco, from the 1st to the 4th and from the 19th to the 26th of April respectively. It was the first occasion since the foundation of the Protectorate that the Minister responsible for Moroccan affairs had come here in person, and his initiative was welcomed for the opportunity which it would give to have local problems studied at first hand by the authorities who would be dealing with them in Paris. He was accompanied by senior officials of his Ministry and used his first weekend to establish contact with officials in Rabat and in Casablanca. In statements to the Press he stressed the urgency of fighting terrorism

CONFIDENTIAL

in Casablanca, where the size of the city, its mixture of races at differing levels of social development and the inadequacy of the police force combined to make the problem very difficult: he said that many of the local troubles were due to external events and influences and hoped that opportunities would be given to the youth of the country to play a larger part in its affairs. He presided over a meeting in Casablanca to discuss public security and unemployment and announced his intention to return a few weeks later for a longer stay. In the fortnight which followed, the Sultan sent a message to the President of the French Republic maintaining the legitimacy of his accession to the Throne and expressing his desire to be consulted about any proposed reforms. This was supported by a declaration by the Glaoui who stated *inter alia* that the dynastic question "did not exist" and that he would give his full support to the institution of reforms but only on condition that the ex-Sultan should never return and that the present Sultan should be recognised as the only legitimate sovereign: he considered that the present difficulties were due to the Sultan, Pashas and Caids having their responsibilities taken away from them.

3. On his second visit M. July's tour covered Rabat, Casablanca, Fez, Meknès, Marrakesh and Agadir: he expressed his regret that he could not include Oujda which had sent him a special invitation. He told the Press that he wished this time to make a personal study of the local situation and that he would pay special attention to the problems presented by Casablanca, the youth of the country and education: he stated that he hoped to make some announcement about trade union legislation at the end of his stay (see paragraph 3 of my last Quarterly Report), though in the event he found himself unable to say anything encouraging about this important issue. He called on the Sultan on the day of his arrival and his first public engagement was the inauguration on the 20th of April of the barrage at Bin-el-Ouidane and of the hydro-electric plant connected with the scheme. This vast feat of engineering, with its artificial lake larger than the Lake of Annecy, will provide 550 million kW. hours of electricity per annum besides bringing some 120,000 hectares of desert land into profitable cultivation by Moroccan "fellahs," and some 600 guests were invited to celebrate its completion. The day was spent in speechmaking and feasting and M. July eulogised the French achievements in building up Morocco to be a great modern State. The population was constantly increasing owing to better conditions of security and public health and he urged Moroccans to play their part in developing their industrial and agricultural resources: France and Morocco must work together towards the worthy destiny which awaited them both in this country. In the evening the Minister returned to Casablanca where he gave a banquet for the President of Brazil who was on his way to Portugal on an official visit. In his progress through the various cities, he discussed current problems with the local authorities and made numerous speeches on the general themes outlined above, which tended to become monotonous by their repetition and by their lack of any concrete substance. Before his departure he thanked the Resident-General in the name of the French Government for all that he had achieved here despite considerable difficulties and expressed the hope that Franco-Moroccan friendship, which he had found to be a living reality, would continue to inspire the endeavours of all. The Nationalists marked their displeasure at this visit by closing Moroccan-owned shops in the principal towns but apart for a few incidents in Casablanca there were no demonstrations. The French were not as favourably impressed by M. July as the publicity organs endeavoured to convey but hoped that he had seen enough to advise his Government to start on the programme of reforms proposed by M. Lacoste without further delay.

4. May was a month of anxious waiting. An unofficial "conference" was organised in Paris to discuss Moroccan affairs: those present were largely "intellectuals" but it was attended also by Si Bekkai, M. Léon Marchal and others who had played a direct part in the country's affairs. M. Lacoste paid another visit to Paris, with modifications of his earlier policy to bring it up to date, but again returned empty-handed, after which he visited some of the more important towns including Meknès, Mogador, Safi and Taza. The only political news which gave encouragement was the formation of a "Comité d'Action," of which Marshal Juin would be a member, for dealing with North African problems as a whole. The Glaoui published another statement in the Press on familiar lines reiterating his arguments about the Throne and upbraiding the French Government both for their weakness in suppressing terrorism in Casablanca and for their "immobilisme"

CONFIDENTIAL

with regard to the introduction of reforms. In the meantime the local situation was deteriorating appreciably. The terrorists induced all Moorish and Jewish shopkeepers to close their shops and in many of the principal towns of Morocco the shop strike lasted till the end of the quarter. They also stepped up their attacks on individuals; most of the victims were Moors but a few Europeans were killed and the counter-terrorists came into action again for a few days. Telephone wires were cut on a number of occasions and crop fires, particularly in the Meknès area, gave anxiety to the authorities. These, however, have not been more extensive than last year and there is reason to think that they may have been caused by disaffected tribesmen rather than by professional terrorists.

5. On the 11th of June the murder took place in Casablanca of M. Lemaigre-Dubreuil, a wealthy French industrialist who had recently acquired a controlling interest in the local newspaper *Maroc Presse*. The crime was immediately ascribed to counter-terrorists since he was well-known for his liberal views and had been publishing some pro-Nationalist letters and articles in his newspaper which, apart from their local influence, would be likely to draw wide attention in French political circles. He was a personal friend of M. Edgar Faure and of many other important personalities in French politics and his murder created considerably more emotion in Paris than in Morocco. M. Mendès-France flew out for the funeral service which was attended by a very large congregation including many Moroccans. The French Government sent out M. Wybot, the Director of the French Security Police to make a thorough investigation of the crime and M. July made a statement to the Press exhorting the French to put an end to their quarrels and deploring the revival of counter-terrorism. His remarks were not well received locally in that the responsibility for the crime had not yet been established by the police and that he had said nothing about the far more numerous victims of the terrorists.

6. The decision to replace the Resident-General before embarking on a new policy for Morocco had been taken several weeks earlier but these unhappy events put the calendar forward with the unfortunate and unjustified implication that the Administration had been less determined in their pursuit of the counter-terrorists than of the terrorists themselves. M. Lacoste had indeed throughout his appointment done his utmost to repress terrorism in all its forms, but an article appeared in *L'Express* accusing him of not having co-operated with two missions which had come from Paris to investigate police methods and counter-terrorism. He replied to these allegations by taking the exceptional step of publishing official correspondence exchanged with the Ministry for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs and urged that the official reports, together with the official records of the action taken thereon, should be published in full. When his recall appeared imminent, the third "College" of the "Conseil du Gouvernement," the Moroccan Federation of the Radical Party, and various other local organisations addressed appeals to the French Government for him to stay on and he received much sympathy from quarters which earlier had been critical of him: it appeared, moreover, that the French Government were having considerable difficulty in finding a successor. On the 20th of June M. Lacoste went to Paris and on the following day the appointment was announced of M. Grandval, who had served with distinction in the Saar since 1945, first as Governor and later as Head of the French Diplomatic Mission.

7. In a speech before the National Assembly M. Faure stated that his Government had entrusted the execution of their new policy to M. Grandval because they did not altogether agree with the final conclusions of M. Lacoste and he hoped that with a new team it would be possible to avert the danger of too strict a control of Moroccan affairs from Paris. He laid down certain principles for Franco-Moroccan relations namely, the maintenance of French interests here, the gradual abolition of direct administration, the establishment of modern institutions and the consolidation of a true interdependence between France and Morocco which was indispensable in the interests of both peoples. He then referred to M. Wybot's report which had established nothing about the murder of M. Lemaigre-Dubreuil though it incriminated a former chief inspector of police for earlier counter-terrorist activities. Some days later a group of 11 Europeans were arrested in Casablanca, seven of whom were members of the city's police force, for their complicity in counter-terrorism. Seizing on a Press report that one of their number had been maltreated by the police during his interrogation, extremist elements among the French population called for a 48-hour protest strike and the

closing of European shops on the 27th and 28th of June. On the first morning many shops stayed open but, on being threatened with trouble for disobeying the strike summons, most of them closed in the afternoon. Demonstrators, numbering about 800 on the first day and 1,500 on the second, paraded through the streets of Casablanca but except for smashing some windows of stores which had not closed they did little damage. They visited the municipal authorities and demonstrated in front of the *Maroc Presse* offices but were soon dispersed by the police using fire hoses. The trouble ended as suddenly as it had begun and on the 30th of June life in the European quarter returned to normal.

8. In the last week of June M. Lacoste returned to Rabat to take leave of the Sultan and to say goodbye to his many friends here. He left with his family on the 1st of July and will shortly take up his new duties as French Ambassador in Ottawa.

Terrorism

9. The lull in terrorism in Casablanca which had begun in the middle of March ended a few days before M. July's second visit in April and since then acts of terrorism were of daily occurrence. Latterly attacks on Europeans, mostly living or working in the native quarters, again became numerous but the large majority of the victims were Moroccans. An article published in *La Vigie Marocaine* in May, apparently based on information from police sources, claimed that the Casablanca police possessed full and detailed information regarding six of the main terrorist groups operating in the city but unfortunately subsequent terrorist activities proved that the situation was still far from being in hand. Terrorist activities also included the closing of shops from the middle of May onwards, the prevention of fishermen putting out to sea at Safi and a go-slow strike at the port of Casablanca. At Marrakesh the situation was much more under control owing to the firm action of the Glaoui and of the local authorities; shops remained open for almost all of the time and the number of terrorist attacks were few.

10. In Fez there were no attacks on Moors or Europeans during the quarter but the terrorists made a sustained effort to prevent the celebration of Ramadan. Attempts were made to set shops on fire almost every night and tracts were distributed forbidding shopkeepers to sell certain goods, mainly foodstuffs, of French manufacture. Towards the end of Ramadan all shops and the handicrafts industry closed down under threats of murder but they were open all day on the feast of Aid-es-Seghir. Owing to the tense situation, the traditional visit of the "Chef de la Région" to the Medina on the 27th night of Ramadan was cancelled for the first time since the Protectorate was established. The situation continued to deteriorate during June, but food shops were ordered by the authorities to remain open and force was used against shopkeepers who disobeyed. In Meknès, where the "Chef de la Région" and the Pasha have a reputation for being resolute, shops remained open, but they were closed in Oujda and a number of Moors and one European were killed in that region. The police were, however, successful in unearthing a number of terrorists cells during May and June. A group of nearly 100 agitators, many with arms and explosives, and a number of terrorists were arrested near the borders of the Spanish zone.

11. There were occasional terrorist attacks in Rabat and at the end of June an attempt was made on the life of Si M'Hamed Naciri, the Assistant Vizir for Administrative Affairs, when returning to his home in Salé. In spite, however, of all this disquieting news from the towns, and mainly from their native quarters, the daily life of the country as a whole was surprisingly little affected, at any rate for the European residents.

Budget

12. The Budget Committee of the "Conseil du Gouvernement" met at the end of June. The Director of Finance stated that another 7 milliard francs would be required for the remainder of the financial year, the major items of expenditure being 4 milliard for projects to relieve unemployment (housing schemes in Casablanca and various public works in the country districts) and 2½ milliard for additional public security measures. Of this amount France would contribute 5 milliard francs and the remainder would be found locally but without recourse

to additional taxation. Looking to the future he said that provision would have to be made for guaranteeing the price of cereals and for a permanent anti-locust organisation, as also for the mounting expenditure of the various administrative departments. The next budget would, therefore, have to provide for economies, though he hoped to obtain some revenue from customs duties if Morocco obtained a measure of tariff autonomy as a result of the trade negotiations which are now taking place.

Miscellaneous

13. At the end of April General Parlange, "Chef de la Région" at Agadir, was appointed by the French Government to take charge of military and civil operations for the restoration of order in the Constantine and Aurès districts of Algeria. He took with him some 20 "Officiers des Affaires Indigènes" and a considerable force of Goums.

14. At the end of June Senators were elected to represent the French residents in Morocco in the "Conseil de la République." Two of the present Senators, M. Gros (Independent Republican) and M. Leonetti (S.F.I.O.) were re-elected, the third successful candidate being General Béthouard (M.R.P.), who was Head of the French Military Mission in Washington during the war and later French High Commissioner in Austria until 1950.

15. The annual Casablanca International Fair was opened by M. July and the Resident-General on the 23rd of April. The number of visitors was larger than last year but few Moroccans attended it.

Appointments

16. In April M. Gabriel Eriau, formerly "Prefet" of the department of Basses-Alpes, assumed his duties as Assistant Secretary-General of the Protectorate in succession to M. Emmanuel Durand.

17. The Belgian Consul-General, Baron Beyens, was transferred to Brussels in April and the new Italian Consul-General, M. Aldo Pierantoni, arrived in June.

Visitors

18. General Koenig attended the 29th Congress of the "Union Nationale des Officiers de Réserve de France" which was held this year in Casablanca in April.

19. M. Palewski, Vice-President of the Finance Committee of the French National Assembly, visited Morocco in the same month to study the needs of the army here and to investigate the industrial possibilities of North Africa for national defence. He is subsequently reported to have recommended the establishment of a single military command to cover the three North African territories. M. Paul Reynaud also toured the country to study economic conditions.

20. Other visitors included Mr. Jean Desy (Canadian Ambassador in Paris), M. Jean Marin (Director of the "Agence France-Presse") and Professor J. A. Lauwerys (Professor of Comparative Education at London University) who came at the invitation of the Protectorate authorities to see local educational institutions and gave lectures both in Rabat and in Casablanca.

21. In June Vice-Admiral Barjot, Commanding the Mediterranean Squadron of the French Fleet, visited Casablanca in the cruiser *Georges Leygues* and His Majesty the Sultan attended a reception held on board.

JM 1016/121

No. 18

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN THE FRENCH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR THE PERIOD AUGUST 15th TO 26th INCLUSIVE

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Macmillan. (Received September 3)

(No. 56. Restricted)
Sir,

Rabat,
August 26, 1955.

I have the honour to enclose herein a calendar of the principal events concerning the French Zone of Morocco that have taken place in Morocco itself and abroad during the period from August 15 to 26 inclusive.

2. It follows on a similar diary sent under cover of Mr. Hartley's despatch No. 49 of August 15. Much of the matter in it has already been reported on, but it may be found useful for reference purposes and of interest to those who have not been recipients of all the reports thereon. It by no means records all the personalities who have been conferring at Aix les Bains.

3. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, and to the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca, to the British Middle East Offices at Nicosia and at Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure

1955

Monday, August 15

Resident-General interviews Moroccan nationalists (1) representatives of the Istiqlal (Liazidi and Ben Barka) and (2) of the Democratic Independence Party (Chorkaoui and Bouthaleb).

Tuesday, August 16

Resident-General interviews French opinion (1) a deputation, under M. Le Coroller, of "Presence Française" (Right-wing die-hards) and (2) deputations from the 1st, 2nd and 3rd "Collèges" of the "Conseil du Gouvernement."

Concurrently the Sultan confers with the Glaoui, Shereef El Kittani and some dozen of his Pashas and Caidas with a view to forming a representative Government, as requested by the French Government.

Maître Abderrahim Bouabib, Paris representative of the Istiqlal, visits Rabat for three days (local Press report).

Wednesday, August 17

Resident-General continues interviewing sundry French deputations. In the evening disturbances start in Casablanca.

Thursday, August 18

Trouble continues in Casablanca. Resident-General leaves for Paris this night, accompanied by M. Laurent, his Chef du Cabinet.

Friday, August 19

Third day of rioting in Casablanca. Composition announced of a Ministerial Committee of Five to attend to Moroccan affairs on behalf of the French Government, namely: Faure (Prime Minister), July (Moroccan and

Tunisian Affairs), Pinay (Foreign Affairs), Koenig (Defence) and Schuman (Justice). Resident-General confers with them, the Sultan's reply to the French Government's invitation to form a representative Moroccan Government having now reached Paris. Disorders break out at Khenifra (Middle Atlas) where Berber tribesmen (Zaian) attack town.

Saturday, August 20

Second anniversary of deposition of former Sultan, Mohamed ben Youssef (Mohamed V). Resident-General returns to Rabat 0200 hours. Rioting at Khenifra, Oued Zem, Ait Amar (a mine near Oued Zem), Boujad (all interior towns in the Tada country south-east of Casablanca), at Casablanca, Safi and Mogador on the coast, and at Marrakesh. Sultan hands in to Residency for transmission details of Government he has chosen. Said to contain twenty names, no known nationalists.

Sunday, August 21

Rioting at Khouribga (phosphate mines), Meknes, Marrakesh and Mazagan. Considerable sabotage of phosphate installation. Resident-General pays flying visit to Algiers to discuss with Soustelle disposition of military forces in Algeria and Morocco.

Monday, August 22

Rioting continues at Oued Zem, Ait Amar, Khouribga and Marrakesh. Telephone communication with coastal towns cut. Tribes involved in the first three places: the Smaala, Madna and Beni Smir (Arab tribes). General Duval, Officer Commanding Moroccan Forces, killed in aeroplane accident. Ministerial Committee of Five begin the second phase of the Government's plan for Morocco by consulting representatives of Moroccan opinion at Aix les Bains throughout the coming week. To-day's consultations are with the Grand Vizier and other members of the present Maghzen (Thami el Mokri, Berrada, El Hajaoui, Kholti, &c.).

Tuesday, August 23

Aix les Bains: The Glaoui consulted. Also representatives (Ben Souida, Maître Zarrouk, Hassan Ouezani) of the P.D.I. Also: Ben Slimane, Caid Mansouri, Hadj Abbas Tazi and Tamsamani. Certain section of Faure's Coalition (Paysans, Paysans Independants, Republicains Independants, Action Republicaine et Sociale and Republicaine Sociaux under leadership of Schmittlein) begin to get restive.

The survivors of the Oued Zem massacres send a telegram to Faure.

Steps taken to call up a certain number of reservists in France and North Africa.

Wednesday, August 24

No consultations at Aix this day since Prime Minister obliged to go to Paris to calm down the Paysans-Republicains group. Funeral of General Duval at Rabat. French crowd, continually interrupting Resident-General's funeral oration, shows itself anti-July and Grandval and pro-Juin. General Leblanc (Director-General of the Interior) tenders his resignation. Faure denies any intention of recalling the Resident-General.

Thursday, August 25

Aix les Bains: consultations with representatives of Istiqlal, with Si Bakkai and with Caid Layadi.

Friday, August 26

Aix les Bains consultations close with talks with French opinion in Morocco (1st, 2nd and 3rd Collèges of the Conseil du Gouvernement) and with a delegation of Moroccan Jews.

Resident-General leaves in the afternoon for Paris to be present at Committee of Five's discussions with Cabinet tomorrow. Local Press reproduces Metropolitan Press comments on Grandval's impending resignation. Tribes in Oued Zem district (see August 22) formally surrender to General Franchi, Chef de la Région and O.C. Troops, Casablanca.

P 10133/18G

No. 19

EVENTS IN MOROCCO AND ALGERIA

(No. 156. Intel. Confidential)

September 3, 1955.

French North Africa

Recent events in Morocco and Algeria have aroused considerable public interest, not least in the Arab countries. Both the Moroccan and Algerian questions are on the agenda of the forthcoming United Nations General Assembly. It therefore seems desirable to bring up to date the guidance given in my Intel No. 71 of April 7, 1955.

2. The basic interest of Her Majesty's Government continues to lie in the maintenance of peace throughout French North Africa.

3. The conclusion of the Franco-Tunisian Conventions now ratified both by the French Parliament and by the Bey, makes it more easy to give positive support to the French. This agreement has produced a remarkable change in the political climate in Tunisia, and although conditions in Morocco are very different it may serve, if not as a model, at least as an earnest of French intentions to seek an analogous solution in Morocco. It is a particularly significant and hopeful sign that whereas disorders took place both in Algeria and Morocco on August 20, Tunisia remained entirely calm.

4. In Morocco the outcome of the conference of Aix les Bains appears to be as follows:—

- (i) The present Sultan, Moulay Ben Arafa, will abdicate. No date has yet been fixed by the French Government for his departure but every effort will be made to see that his retirement is as dignified and honourable as possible.
- (ii) On the departure of Ben Arafa a Regency Council will be appointed by the (new) Resident-General. The exact membership of this Council has not yet been decided.
- (iii) The Regency Council will appoint a new Moroccan Government, representative of all the various political tendencies in the country.
- (iv) Negotiations will be started between the French Government and the Moroccan Government for the reform of the political and administrative system in Morocco and, if necessary, for modifications to the Treaty of Fez.
- (v) The ex-Sultan, Mohammed Ben Youssef, will be permitted to return to France from Madagascar where he is in exile. This move will however not take place until mid-October at the earliest, i.e., after the reassembly of the French Parliament whose approval will be sought.

5. The political price to be paid to the French Right wing and to the *colon* lobby for these concessions to the Nationalists is the resignation of M. Grandval, who was appointed Resident-General only two months ago. He is to be replaced by General Boyer de Latour, who until now was Resident-General in Tunisia. General de Latour's record in Tunisia is extremely good but there are some doubts as to how he will be greeted by the Nationalists on arrival in Morocco, where M. Grandval had earned almost as great a measure of popularity with the Nationalists, as he had become hateful to the *colons*.

6. The French Government are believed to have decided that in no circumstances should the ex-Sultan, Ben Youssef, be permitted to return to the throne. This is however a point to which some at least of the Nationalists attach very great importance, and it cannot therefore be said that the dynastic question has been finally solved by the abdication of Ben Arafa.

7. Nevertheless, it does appear as though all parties did their best at the Aix les Bains conference to reach some agreement on the future of Morocco. This state of affairs may well have been helped by the realisation on the part of the Nationalists that the heavy loss of life and the appalling brutalities which

took place on August 20 and 21 not only did their cause no good in the eyes of world opinion, but were a warning that they were in danger of losing control of their own supporters.

8. Whatever the circumstances which led up to the Aix les Bains conference and to the programme which emerged from it, it is above all necessary that the programme should be given a chance to work. Experience has shown that anti-French agitation and incitement from abroad (of which there is definite evidence in the case of the disturbances at Khenifra and Oued Zem and strong suspicion in the case of the Constantine revolt), and in particular anti-French resolutions put forward at the United Nations Assembly and Security Council by Arab-Asian countries, tend to aggravate an already inflamed situation. It is therefore essential that the French Government having taken the decision to act, the forces of moderation on both sides in Morocco should be left to work out a solution without being subjected to continuous external pressure.

9. The long-term problem of Algeria is much more difficult of solution, since by the Organic Law of 1947 Algeria was constituted a part of Metropolitan France. Successive French Governments have not so far taken more than token steps to translate this legal situation into reality nor does there seem any prospect that they would be willing to modify the 1947 law. Since my Intel No. 71 the revolt, which at the time was apparently being contained in the Aures mountains, has spread over a large part of eastern Algeria. As a result considerable forces have had to be sent to Algeria (and also to Morocco) from Metropolitan France, and these have included units and equipment which had been allocated to SACEUR. This action has brought protests by the Egyptian Government to all NATO countries represented in Cairo. It is hoped that our allies in NATO will not make any formal reply to these protests.

10. On several occasions it has appeared as though the immediate military problem was on the verge of solution. Each time however a fresh outbreak has occurred, of which the most recent and most serious was that of August 21-22 in the area of Philippeville. Nevertheless it seems reasonable to conclude that with the deployment of the large forces now present in Algeria and Morocco a solution should be brought about in the coming months. More intractable is the political and economic problem of assimilating or integrating into the French economic and political system, *on more or less equal terms*, some 8 million Algerian Moslems whose standard of living is incomparably lower than the poorest classes in France and who are almost entirely uneducated.

11. Comment on Morocco and Algeria should not be volunteered. It is almost inevitable that you will be questioned as to Her Majesty's Government's attitude both towards French policy and towards France's position in North Africa. To the former you should reply that French policy in Morocco and Algeria is the domestic concern of France but that you see no reason why a solution to the difficulties that exist should not be worked out by the parties concerned, provided that they are not hampered by untimely criticism and propaganda from extraneous sources. To the latter you should reply on the lines indicated in paragraph 8 of Intel 71 adding, if you see fit, that France and North Africa are interdependent and that close co-operation between them is essential for the benefit of both, and for that of the free world.

JM 1016/146

No. 20

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN THE FRENCH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR THE PERIOD 27th AUGUST TO 20th SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE

Mr. Hartley to Mr. Macmillan. (Received September 27)

(No. 66. Restricted)
Sir,

Rabat,

September 23, 1955.

I have the honour, in continuation of Mr. Freese-Pennefather's despatch No. 56 of 26th August, to enclose herein a calendar of political events relating to the French Zone of Morocco for the period from the 27th of August to the 20th of September, inclusive.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, and to the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca, to the British Middle East Office at Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.,

J. E. HARTLEY.

Enclosure

1955

Saturday, August 27

France.—The Committee of Five leave Aix-les-Bains for Paris to report to the Council of Ministers. M. July, Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, stays behind for further consultations with P.D.I. and Istiqlal delegations.

Sunday, August 28

France.—Council of Ministers meets in Paris. Grand Vizier and other traditionalist delegates return to Morocco.

Monday, August 29

France.—Council of Ministers announces its agreement with the recommendations of the Committee of Five. These are summarised by the Press as follows:

- (i) resignation of Grandval,
- (ii) appointment of General Boyer de la Tour as Resident-General,
- (iii) withdrawal of Sultan Ben Arafa,
- (iv) constitution of a Council of Guardians of the Throne in his place,
- (v) formation (before September 12) of a representative Moroccan Government,
- (vi) permission for the exiled former Sultan, Ben Youssef, to reside in France (by mid-October).

The Glaoui and Shereef El Kittani send a letter to Prime Minister Faure restating that the deposition of Ben Arafa would be illegal.

Wednesday, August 31

Morocco.—General de la Tour flies from Tunis to Rabat and takes up his duties as Resident-General and Commander-in-Chief.

He is greeted with an open letter from "Présence Française" advising him to hasten slowly.

Thursday, September 1

Morocco.—Resident-General consults his "Chefs de Région" in the morning, and in the afternoon pays his first, formal, visit to the Sultan.

Friday, September 2

Morocco.—Resident-General visits Boujad, Oued Zem and Khouribga, scenes of the recent massacres, deposes three local Caids and appoints Abdelkader Chenna as Caid in their stead (without, it is said, consulting the Sultan on his choice).

Military operations (7,000 troops) in Oued Zem area against those tribesmen who did not formally surrender on August 26.

It is evident that both Morocco and Algeria are in process of receiving considerable military reinforcement from metropolitan France. (Total involved, 178,000 conscripts?)

France.—It is also evident, despite its announcement of August 29, that the French Government is far from agreement on the Moroccan question. Faure and July continue their talks with the Nationalists.

Saturday, September 3

Morocco.—Resident-General formally meets the members of the Maghzen, of the Consular Corps, of the Jewish Community and other personalities. Consults with the Grand Vizier in the afternoon.

Sunday, September 4

Madagascar.—The pilgrimages to Madagascar start. To-day's Press announces the departure of Si Bekkai, Ben Slimane and Moulay Hassan (independent nationalists) for Antsirabe.

Monday, September 5

Madagascar.—General Catroux and M. Yrissou, on mission from the Government, in consultation with the former Sultan, Ben Youssef, at Antsirabe. Their departure from France was a well-kept secret.

Morocco.—Sultan Ben Arafa summons the Resident-General to the Palace to inform him that he wishes to be kept abreast of French intentions and to remind him of "the divine character of his (the Sultan's) mission which obliges him to remain till God should call him."

France.—Police comb-out of North Africans in Paris and other towns.

Tuesday, September 6

Madagascar.—Catroux mission continues talks with former Sultan. Bekkai mission also consult with Ben Youssef.

Morocco.—Resident-General visits Khenifra, scene of rioting on August 20.

Wednesday, September 7

Madagascar.—Talks continue.

Morocco.—The Glaoui and Shereef El Kittani at Rabat. A day of discussions between them, the Sultan and the Resident-General.

Thursday, September 8

Madagascar.—Talks continue.

Allal Fassi patches up his quarrel with Istiqlal delegates.

Friday, September 9

Madagascar.—Catroux talks with Ben Youssef near completion. A P.D.I. delegation, Abdelkader Benjellun and Professor Bontaleb, on its way to Antsirabe.

Morocco.—Resident-General visits the Sultan. General Guillaumin de Bénouville, Deputy (U.R.A.S.), also visits the Sultan. The Council of Viziers and Directors approves the promulgation of legislation granting trade union rights to Moroccans.

Sunday, September 11

France.—Catroux returns to Paris and the Committee of Five deliberate on his consultations with Ben Youssef.

Monday, September 12

France.—The deadline set by Faure a month ago to resolve the Moroccan question. After an all day meeting of the Cabinet and a broadcast by the Prime Minister at 11 p.m. it is evident the Government is still undecided. A sub-committee (Schuman, July, Teitgen and Palewski) to help the Committee of Five in its future work is formed.

Morocco.—The Sultan again states publicly that only God can end his divine mission.

Tuesday, September 13

Morocco.—M. Olivier Manet (a Counsellor in M. July's Cabinet) arrives to replace M. Gilet as *Conseiller du Gouvernement Chérifien*. He is said to be the bearer of a letter from the President of the French Republic to the Sultan. There is local opposition to the appointment of M. Manet.

Madagascar.—The last of the four missions at Antsirabe: Si Bouabid and Abdeljellil, the Istiqlal delegates, in consultation with Ben Youssef.

Wednesday, September 14

Morocco.—A deputation of about one thousand Frenchmen, organised by "Présence Française" tract spreading, call on the Resident-General to protest against the nomination of M. Manet.

M. de Lipowsky (Deputy Director in the Resident-General's Cabinet) sent to Paris with, it is rumoured, Coty's letter to Arafa for amendment.

Thursday, September 15

France.—The discussions of the Committee of Five (and its sub-Committee of Four) now appear to be centred on the composition of the Council of Guardians of the Throne.

Morocco.—The Resident-General attends a gathering of the Berber tribes of Ait Seghouchen at El Mers, Middle Atlas, where he was an administrative officer in his younger days.

Madagascar.—The P.D.I. and Istiqlal delegations return to France.

Friday, September 16

Morocco.—The Resident-General sees the Sultan (also present, the Glaoui and the Viziers of Habous and of Justice) and flies to Paris in the evening.

Saturday, September 17

France.—Discussions in Paris between M. July, General de la Tour, General Catroux and M. Yrissou on the one hand, and Bekkai, Ben Slimane, and P.D.I. and Istiqlal members on the other.

Sunday, September 18

France.—Meeting of the Council of Ministers.

Monday, September 19

France.—Council of Ministers meeting continues.

Tuesday, September 20

France.—Council of Ministers concludes its deliberations. The Resident-General is to return to Morocco with full and detailed instructions on the course of action he is to take and the text of a declaration on the Government's policy for Morocco is promised for a later date.

JF 1015/28

No. 22

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR ON OCTOBER 11, 1955

Mr. Macmillan to Sir Gladwyn Jebb (Paris)

(No. 615. Confidential)
Sir,

*Foreign Office,
October 11, 1955.*

The French Ambassador called on me to-day. With regard to North Africa, he said that M. Faure's successes in the Assembly had the advantage that by making the vote on the question of Morocco and not on the question of confidence his policy in Morocco was now shown to have wide backing and would become more effective. He admitted the difficulty with which the Government in Paris was faced, first because of the traditional independence of the Administration from the time of Marshal Lyautey and, secondly, because of the strong feelings of the French colonists. He thought, however, that Moroccan policy would now go ahead.

Algeria

2. This was a much more difficult problem because of the integration of Algeria with metropolitan France. Ten million Arabs would swamp the French Assembly if they had full representative rights. I said I should have thought they might have had some reduced representation on the ground that they had a certain amount of local autonomy. The Ambassador thought that the French Government were genuinely trying to promote a progressive policy, but the difficulties were very great.

3. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Tripoli, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tunis, Algiers, Tetuan and Rabat and also to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca.

I am, &c.

HAROLD MACMILLAN.

CONFIDENTIAL

JM 1016/185

No. 23

REPORT ON THE INSTALLATION OF THE MOROCCAN COUNCIL OF THE THRONE, OCTOBER 18, 1955

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Macmillan. (Received October 24)

(No. 73. Unclassified)
Sir,

*Rabat,
October 19, 1955.*

With reference to my telegram No. 1 Saving of the 16th of October reporting the formation of the Council of the Throne, I have the honour to inform you that this Council was formally installed by the Resident General on the morning of the 18th of October.

2. The Resident General, accompanied by the senior officers and officials of the Protectorate, arrived at 10 o'clock in the courtyard of the "Palais Makhzen," where he inspected the Guard of Honour and the national anthems of the two countries were played. The party then proceeded to the room used by the Council of Viziers where the Guardians of the Throne were awaiting them. The proclamation instituting the Council was read (and broadcast), first in Arabic and then in French, followed by a proclamation by the Council to the Moroccan people. Without referring to His Majesty Moulay Ben Araf's departure the latter proclamation stated that since the Moroccan Throne was "vacant" a Council of Guardians of the Throne had been instituted, with the agreement of the French Government, consisting of their Excellencies El Hadj Mohammed El Mokri, El Hadj Mohammed Sbihi, Si Bekkai and Si Tahar ben Ali Ou Assou. The Council would take its decisions unanimously and if any member were absent for good reason the three other members would name a replacement, after consultation with the Moroccan Government and receiving the approval of the Resident General. The first task of the Council would be to constitute a Moroccan Government representing all tendencies of Moroccan opinion to manage the affairs of the country and endeavour to establish with the French Government a new definition of the permanent bonds which should unite the two countries. The Council appealed to all their compatriots, both Moslem and Jewish, to give them their support and confidence and to remain calm in order to help them to realise the hopes of all. Morocco was entering upon a new democratic era which would guarantee to all Moroccans, regardless of their religion, equality of rights and of obligations. The Council recognised that the French population of Morocco, who had contributed so much to the country by their labours and activities, should have their legitimate rights and interests protected, and that the foreign population should also be assured of being able to continue their work in an atmosphere of confidence in the country's future. After the reading of this proclamation the Resident General took his leave of the Council, the whole proceedings having lasted barely a quarter of an hour.

3. In the afternoon Si Bekkai gave to the Press a personal message in which he told the Moroccan people that His Majesty Mohammed Ben Youssef had approved the formation of the Council of Guardians of the Moroccan Throne as constituted. He then referred, appreciatively, to the promise of the French Government to allow Ben Youssef and his family, who were in excellent health, to return shortly to France and stated his firm resolve to devote himself to working for the common interest to the exclusion of any other consideration.

4. The Council have to-day asked Si Fathmi ben Slimane, a former Pasha of Fez, to form a Moroccan Government.

5. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to His Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consuls at Casablanca and Fez, to the British Middle East Office at Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

CONFIDENTIAL

JM 1013/12

No. 24

QUARTERLY REPORT ON POLITICAL EVENTS IN FRENCH MOROCCO FOR THE PERIOD ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1955

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Macmillan. (Received October 28)

(No. 75. Confidential)
Sir,

Rabat,
October 21, 1955.

With reference to my despatch No. 40 of the 8th of July, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the French Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on the 30th of September.

2. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consul at Casablanca, to the British Middle East Office at Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure to No. 24

FRENCH MOROCCO—QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT PERIOD JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1955

General

On July 1 and October 1 respectively the Resident-General, M. Lacoste, and the Sultan, His Majesty Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, left Rabat and during the three intervening months the feverish activity of the French Government to find a solution to the Moroccan problem before it was too late was a welcome contrast to the stagnation of its predecessors, from which the country had been suffering for nearly two years. Forming a policy, however, and then putting it into effect proved to be a far more complicated matter than was expected at the outset, owing to the dogged persistence with which sectional interests on all sides fought over each detail of its contents and execution. Much to his credit the President of the Council, M. Edgar Faure, managed eventually to get a sufficient measure of agreement within his Cabinet to secure acceptance of a policy in Paris, though he was hardly assisted in this either by the Nationalists or by the more militant of the French settlers in Morocco who tried at each stage to improve their position—nor indeed were certain officials in the Protectorate disposed to interpret it faithfully or with enthusiasm.

2. During July the newly-appointed Resident-General, M. Gilbert Grandval, endeavoured to travel in the country, which he had never visited before, and to sound opinion prior to making his policy recommendations to his Government: he received a hostile reception from the extremist elements among the French but acquired considerable popularity among the Moroccans. In August the scene shifted to Paris where the French Government adjusted his policy to satisfy influential dissentients: this resulted in the consultations at Aix-les-Bains with representatives from this country of different political opinions, both French and Moroccan. The month ended with M. Grandval's resignation and the appointment of General Boyer de Latour as his successor. At the beginning of September emissaries of the French Government and of the two principal Moroccan Nationalist parties visited the ex-Sultan in Madagascar, who gave his blessing to the agreements reached at Aix-les-Bains and it was left to the new Resident-General to put them into effect. After a month of shilly-shallying the first phase of the French Government's policy was achieved with the departure from Rabat of the Sultan. Throughout the whole of this period the internal situation in Morocco deteriorated rapidly and large military reinforcements had to be sent from Europe to prevent riots and bloodshed, so far as they were able.

CONFIDENTIAL

3. The Spanish Government gave the impression that they did not know quite what attitude to adopt towards the various political developments, though the High Commissioner at Tetuan continued to voice his support for the ex-Sultan on various occasions. The Government were less concerned over the dynastic problem, which they regarded as being a French creation and therefore for the French to solve, than over the possibility of negotiations taking place at a later date affecting the present Protectorate arrangements. In the last days of the quarter they informed the French Government officially that they expected to be present at any such negotiations from the outset.

July. M. Grandval's Arrival—Impact of his Personality and Policy—Visits to Casablanca, Marrakesh and Meknes

4. The announcement of M. Grandval's appointment had been received with mixed feelings by the French here. He had had no previous experience of Morocco, or indeed of any Moslem country—nor had several of the senior officials whom he brought with him—but he was known to be a man of action who had the full support of his Government. Instead of arriving at Casablanca by sea like his predecessors, he travelled by air to save time and arrived in Rabat on July 7. His instructions were stated to be to work within the limits of the Treaty of Fez (1912) for (1) the re-establishment of public order; (2) the progressive abandonment of direct administration; (3) the handing over of more responsibility to Moroccans both in government and in administration; and (4) the reconciliation of the different conflicting opinions: except for the timing, which had become increasingly important, this policy did not differ much from that which had been advocated by M. Lacoste almost a year previously. M. Grandval paid a formal visit on the Sultan and promised both His Majesty and the Glaoui, who was also present at the audience, that he would discuss the Moroccan situation with them at an early date. He made no political speeches either here or at Casablanca which he visited on the following day, but in general he let it be understood that he intended to treat with all Moroccans regardless of their political opinions. On July 12 it was announced that seven Directors of Government departments and two other senior officials had been called upon to relinquish their appointments forthwith since, despite their excellent records of public service, they might prove unsuitable, for purely psychological reasons, for carrying out M. Grandval's reforms after their long association with earlier policies. The 14th of July opened with the news that 77 Moroccans were being released from internment or from various restrictions which had been placed on their movements and that further acts of grace might be expected on the Aid-el-Kebir, a few weeks later, if the improvement in the political climate were maintained as a result of the Resident-General's liberal measures. He also marked the occasion by entertaining his Moroccan and French guests together at his general reception at the Residency instead of receiving them separately as hitherto, but in the afternoon the first serious setback to his policy of "rapprochement" took place when a bomb exploded in a much frequented public square in the European quarter of Casablanca, killing 6 and wounding 35 people who were peacefully enjoying the public holiday. The Europeans were already critical of his hasty and over-confident measures of appeasement and the unruly elements among them, out of revenge, started anti-terrorist riots which continued on a serious scale for the following three days with little willing or effective intervention by the police. Shops were pillaged, cars were overturned and set on fire, and when M. Grandval attended the funeral of the bomb victims, he was shamefully manhandled by the mob and only managed to reach his car with considerable difficulty. Casualties during these three days numbered no less than 32 dead and 254 wounded. This outburst of violence, however, provided him with ample justification for appointing a senior military officer, General Franchi, as "Chef de la Région," who would have troops under his direct command to deal with any further disturbances—a very necessary measure considering the proven unreliability of the police against many of whom disciplinary action was taken. Further preventative measures included the expulsion of 15 of the ringleaders of the recent demonstrations and of Dr. Causse, President of the "Union pour la Présence Française," a die-hard organisation which encouraged all forms of opposition to changes in the existing régime and was later to play an active role in impeding the application of the Aix-les-Bains agreements.

5. On July 21 the Resident-General visited Marrakesh where his visit was marred by demonstrations in favour of the ex-Sultan: he proclaimed his loyalty to

CONFIDENTIAL

France's friends among whom he cited the Glaoui as being "in the first rank." His visit to Meknes on July 25 was the occasion for riots on a more serious scale, for the inception of which the police were partly responsible by firing directly on a crowd without first firing warning shots in the air. This city had had a good reputation for good behaviour hitherto and it was reported that agitators had come from Casablanca to stir up trouble both there and at Marrakesh. The day's casualties were 15 killed and 40 wounded and M. Grandval decided to postpone his visit to Fez which was to have taken place later in the week. The Meknes riots led to demonstrations at Moulay Idriss, which had normally been a peaceful town, and the feast of Aid-el-Kebir on July 30 was celebrated as a day of mourning instead of rejoicing. Si Bekkai, the former Pasha of Sefrou and a close friend of the ex-Sultan, spent a week in Morocco at the end of the month, his first visit since he went into voluntary exile in August 1953, and found the situation much more serious than it appeared in Paris. The Moroccan population, however, still had confidence in the Resident-General but he had made himself most unpopular with the French and also with a large number of the Protectorate officials.

August: M. Grandval submits his recommendations—Dissension within the French Government—Riots in Morocco—Discussions at Aix-les-Bains—M. Grandval's resignation accepted.

6. M. Grandval's recommendations reached Paris on August 1 but the general lines on which he was thinking had become known from his conversations and statements here during July: in particular he had made it clear that the dynastic question had to be tackled first. The Sultan, the Glaoui and Si Bekkai all stated their views, the last two publicly. The Glaoui in a letter to M. Edgar Faure expressed his indignation that the Sultan's position should be questioned and stated that His Majesty was perfectly ready to introduce reforms but none had been submitted to him. Si Bekkai, in an interview with a representative of *Combat*, said that since 1953 he had been suggesting the formation of a Regency Council of persons belonging to no political party, that a Moroccan Government representing all opinions and parties should then be set up, that the future relationship between Morocco and France should be freely negotiated on a basis of interdependence and that French interests here should be preserved: but, he added, the French Government must realise that only a very short time was left to reach acceptable decisions or it must assume responsibility for the serious consequences.

7. M. Grandval's policy was based on two assumptions, firstly that the Moroccan problem could be solved by conciliation but not by force and secondly that the return of the ex-Sultan to the Throne was unacceptable. It therefore provided that the present Sultan must retire from the Throne and the ex-Sultan must be brought back to France: in exchange the latter would first give his blessing to the setting up of a Regency Council, which in turn would set up a fully representative Moroccan Government, and he would then renounce his claim to the Throne. The essence of this policy was speed in order that the compromise solution should not be overtaken by events or outbid by extremists on both sides.

8. On August 5 M. Faure made a soothing statement to the French National Assembly and the Council of Ministers met on the following day. Their proceedings were kept strictly secret but it seems clear that M. Grandval's recommendations met with strong opposition from the Right-wing Ministers: he was therefore invited to meet General Koenig (Minister of Defence) and M. July (Minister for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs) in the South of France with a view to modifying his policy so as to concentrate first on reforms rather than on the dynastic problem. On August 11 and 12, meetings were held of the Co-ordinating Committee for North African Affairs which were attended also by the Resident General and his senior officials. M. Faure was faced with a refusal by his Right-wing Ministers, strongly supported by General Boyer de Latour (at that time Resident General in Tunisia), to accept M. Grandval's recommendations as they stood, and the Cabinet approved a compromise solution, namely, to defer action on the question of the Throne and to ask the Sultan to form a Moroccan Government of all political tendencies: M. Grandval was to submit to the Sultan a list of potential Ministers from which to choose a fully representative Government by August 18. At this stage a Ministerial Committee was formed in Paris to negotiate reforms with the eventual Moroccan Government—its members being MM. Faure, Pinay, July, Robert Schuman and General Koenig—and M. Faure, accompanied by M. Pinay, reported

to President Coty who was on holiday near Grenoble. In a statement to the Press, M. Faure said that his Government's decisions involved "a plan, a time-table, and a method": the time-table was not to be "imposed from outside" (a reference to the anniversary of the ex-Sultan's deposition on August 20) but in a month's time, by September 12 at the latest, the present critical phase would be ended: M. Grandval would return to Paris on August 18.

9. M. Grandval fully realised that the Government's modification of his policy in order to buy time involved the very danger (of leaving a vacuum) which he had tried to avoid, and on August 13 he tendered his resignation, but it was not accepted. On arriving in Morocco on August 14 he immediately visited the Sultan and made a broadcast speech explaining that he had come back with a plan of which the details could not yet be disclosed but which would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Moroccan people: he then embarked on discussions with local French and Moroccan leaders. The Nationalists had remained quiet during the Paris negotiations and there had been no organised rioting here since the end of July, but they gave a cold welcome to the Government's proposals and let it be known that nothing short of the Sultan's removal could permit the discussion of reforms or prevent a revival of civil disturbances. As was expected the Sultan could not succeed in his task of forming a representative Government but in his reply to President Coty he scored a number of points which strengthened the hand of the Right-wing Ministers (whose political associates were generally assumed to have been responsible for drafting the letter). After agreeing with the need for reforms, he reminded President Coty that the responsibility for forming a Government devolved on the Sultan alone and that his dignity did not permit him to accept a time-limit. He must, moreover, have a free choice of Ministers, and political parties who refused to co-operate could constitute an orderly opposition as in any democratic state. Since M. Grandval could get no nearer towards bringing together divergent interests in Rabat, the Government decided to invite French and Moroccan Representatives of all political opinions to Aix-les-Bains for discussions with the Ministerial Committee which were to begin on August 22.

10. In Morocco trouble was expected on August 20 though not in the form which it took. Fez and Oujda were calm and there were no serious disorders in Rabat, Marrakesh or Meknes. In Casablanca 35 Moroccans were killed in riots which had started two days previously and there were riots in the coastal towns of Mazagan, Safi and Mogador. The inland towns, which had very limited forces for keeping order, suffered most and the savage massacres at Oued Zem, in which 37 Europeans were brutally murdered and 30 wounded, must rank among the blackest events in Moroccan history since the foundation of the Protectorate: the neighbouring mining town of Ait Amar, where 19 persons were killed, suffered almost as badly. At Khouribga casualties were much fewer but damage amounting to some 2 milliard francs was caused to the installations of the Shereefian phosphate company by rioters who showed a high degree of technical knowledge in their systematic destruction of vital machinery. There were serious outbreaks also in Khenifra where local demonstrators, aided by an influx of Berber tribesmen, pillaged and set fire to shops and houses: they were only dispersed by the arrival of the Foreign Legion which had recently been withdrawn to reinforce the garrison at El Hajeb. This section of the country, the Middle Atlas area, is populated by traditionally difficult tribes who were only too willing to follow the call of any agitators moving from place to place, and for some days afterwards large military forces were engaged in mopping-up operations; in the course of these General Duval, Commander-in-Chief in Morocco, was killed in a flying accident. The loss of European lives in these disturbances provided the French with further pretexts for blaming M. Grandval's policies and at General Duval's funeral, in the presence of a number of high-ranking officers from France, the Resident-General was booed by the crowd throughout his funeral oration: the name of M. Pierre July was hissed and that of Marshal Juin applauded.

11. Against the background of these tragic events in Morocco talks were started at Aix-les-Bains and went surprisingly well. Almost all Moroccans of important political standing were able to express their views to the Ministerial Committee as also representatives of French opinion in Morocco, and a delegation of Moroccan Jews. In particular, the Parti Démocrate de l'Indépendance made a good impression on Right-wing Ministers and the latter, knowing that M. Faure would have to accept M. Grandval's resignation at an early date, agreed to a plan

which provided for the early withdrawal of the Sultan and the establishment of a Council of Guardians of the Throne immediately thereafter who would set up a fully representative Moroccan Government by September 12: the ex-Sultan would return to France. These conversations proved very useful in that they demonstrated to Ministers in France the extreme complexity of the Moroccan problem and also resulted in all the various elements being agreed to participate in a Moroccan Government. It was not expected that the Sultan would make difficulties about leaving Rabat but there was no wish to depose him: every effort would be made to ensure that the circumstances of his departure were honourable and dignified.

12. On August 31 M. Grandval's resignation was accepted. On the same day General Boyer de Latour arrived in Rabat to succeed him and also to take over the duties of Commander-in-Chief.

September: General Boyer de Latour's arrival—Aix-les-Bains agreements approved by the ex-Sultan—Attempts to form a Council of the Throne—The Sultan's departure

13. The choice of General Boyer de Latour as Resident-General was welcomed by the French in Morocco, and also by the Glaoui, since he was a soldier who had long experience of Morocco and it was known that he did not share the liberal views of his predecessor. His appointment likewise encouraged Right-wing politicians in France and the Sultan showed no inclination whatever to leave the Protectorate. On his arrival the new Resident-General wisely decided not to make the traditional drive through Rabat and on September 1 he paid his formal visit on the Sultan. He next visited Oued Zem, Khouribga and Casablanca and held his official receptions here on September 4. In order to minimise the risk of further massacres, such as those at Oued Zem, he divided his military forces into small units among the various towns instead of concentrating them in the traditional military centres and relying on their mobility for quelling disorders. General Leblanc, who had come here with M. Grandval but had threatened to resign, was now to assist General Boyer de Latour in his responsibilities as Commander-in-Chief while continuing his duties of co-ordinating Internal Affairs and Public Security as Director-General of Political Affairs. For his civilian staff the Resident-General brought with him M. Lefort (formerly General Guillaume's Private Secretary here) as Director of his Cabinet and M. Lipowsky as Assistant Director: both had served with him in Tunis. M. Eriau was appointed Secretary-General of the Protectorate (having previously served as Assistant Secretary-General) but the post of Délégué was not filled until about a week later, when it was accepted by M. de Panafieu, who had recently served for a considerable time in Tangier as French Consul-General.

14. In the first week of September there was little for the Resident-General to do in Rabat since the Aix-les-Bains agreements still required the approval of the ex-Sultan in Madagascar. The French Government chose as their emissaries to him General Catroux, who was known for his liberal views and had been opposed to the ex-Sultan's deposition, and M. Yrissou, the Director of M. Pinay's Cabinet, to show that there was no divergence of opinion between M. Faure and M. Pinay. Their departure was shortly followed by that of a Moroccan delegation consisting of Si Bekkai, Si Fathmi ben Slimane (formerly Pasha of Fez) and Sidi Moulay Hassan (the ex-Sultan's brother-in-law). The Istiqlal leaders meanwhile went to Rome to meet their colleagues who had been in exile in other countries and who insisted that no one who had taken part in the dethronement crisis should be a member either of the Council of the Throne or of the Moroccan Government. The Istiqlal and the Parti Démocrate de l'Indépendance also sent delegations to Madagascar and the ex-Sultan prevailed on them to withdraw their objections to the Grand Vizier being a member of the Council of the Throne. On September 12 General Catroux and M. Yrissou returned to Paris where they told the Press that the ex-Sultan was ready to assist the French Government to work for a solution of conciliation in return only for permission to return to France where he and his sons would refrain from political activity: he had not, however, expressly renounced his claim to the Throne. The emissaries reported to the Ministerial "Committee of Five" after which M. July announced the ex-Sultan's support for the Aix-les-Bains proposals and declared the French Government's intention of entrusting a representative Moroccan Government with the task of building up a modern democratic State. It looked as if agreement had now been

reached among the French Ministers, excepting for General Koenig's reserves, to give immediate effect to the Government's policy, a decisive factor having been the attitude of M. Pinay who had decided to throw his weight on the side of a compromise solution.

15. At this stage, therefore, the two immediate objectives were to secure the departure of the present Sultan and the setting up of a Council of the Throne in his stead, the composition of which was to be agreed within the Government and between the Government and the Moroccan spokesmen; but both presented many difficulties, the former owing to the encouragement which the Sultan was getting from Right-wing circles to stand his ground, and the latter owing to interminable disputes as to who should be the third member on the Council to serve with the Grand Vizier and Si Bekkai. The French Parliament, moreover, was due to reassemble early in October and interested parties did their utmost to stave off final decisions in the hope that the French Government's policy might eventually be modified or reversed, while the time factor was becoming more than ever important with the Moroccan nationalists in Paris threatening to return to Morocco and to announce the breakdown of negotiations. In Rabat the Resident-General was under very strong pressure from the "Union pour la Présence Française" and other patriotic organisations not to solve the problem of the Throne too quickly and he lent a ready ear to their advice. On September 17 he went to Paris with a list of 12 names but all of persons who had been concerned in the deposition of the ex-Sultan. The name of General Kettani, the only Moroccan General in the French Army, was then suggested but he was discouraged from accepting by Marshal Juin and General Koenig: M. Faure even took the desperate step of calling in General Nogues, who had been sheltering in Lisbon from French charges relating to his wartime conduct, in order to persuade him but General Kettani refused to change his decision. M. Faure therefore passed to General Boyer de Latour the responsibility for filling the third place on the Council of the Throne, with one of four names which were given to him, and for getting rid of the Sultan as soon as possible. General Boyer de Latour managed to expand the list from four to eight names and left for Rabat.

16. Throughout this period of bickering and indecision the Sultan had been reiterating his determination to remain on the Throne to fulfil his "divine mission." A steady stream of Pashas and Caidas came to express their allegiance to him and he received encouragement also from eminent personalities from France, including M. Pierre Montel, an extreme Right-wing Deputy who, as President of the Defence Committee of the National Assembly, had been touring Morocco to inspect military establishments. The movement to keep the Sultan on the Throne was also being fostered in the country districts with the connivance, and indeed with the barely concealed support, of a number of Protectorate officials and, needless to say, of the "Union pour la Présence Française." The final task of securing the Sultan's departure was entrusted to M. de Panafieu who on September 29 and 30 had long conversations with His Majesty despite obstacles which were persistently put in his way by Si Hadj Abderrahman El Hajoui, the Deputy Director of Protocol, who had strong personal interests in retaining the Sultan on the Throne. Members of the "Union pour la Présence Française" had been acting as self-appointed armed guards on the Palace for the last few days and their organisation eventually extracted from the Resident-General an assurance that if the Sultan were to leave he should confide his responsibilities to a cousin, thereby preventing, as they thought, the establishment of a Council of the Throne which in their view would inevitably lead to the return of the ex-Sultan. Although this agreement was never publicly acknowledged, there is no doubt that some such understanding was reached and the Sultan signed a declaration announcing his decision to leave Rabat and delegating his cousin, Sidi Moulay Abdullah ben Moulay Abdelhafid, to look after the affairs of the Crown. In the early morning of October 1 His Majesty left for the airport where he was accorded full military honours and seen off by the Resident-General and his staff for Tangier.

United Nations

17. On July 26 the Arab-Asian bloc, repeating their effort of last year, requested the Secretary-General to place the Moroccan question on the agenda for discussion at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. On July 28 they addressed a letter to the President of the Security

Council stating that the situation in Morocco was likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

18. Subsequent events rather cut the ground under their feet since the French Government were indeed actively engaged over Morocco's future before the Assembly meeting took place. The *bloc's* publicity was then directed towards Algeria. This led to a statement to the Assembly by M. Pinay on September 29 (before the debate on whether the Algerian question should be accepted on the agenda) on French policy in general during the course of which he outlined what France had recently done in granting home rule to Tunisia and what she was doing towards the same end for Morocco.

19. On October 1 the General Assembly nevertheless voted, by a very narrow majority, in favour of discussing the Algerian and Moroccan questions, whereupon the French Delegation walked out and took no further part in this 10th session of the Assembly.

Trade Unions

20. The long awaited legislation permitting Moroccans to form trade unions of their own (see paragraph 3 of my report for the quarter ended last March) came into being on September 12. The legislation already valid for Europeans, based on similar legislation in metropolitan France, was made applicable to Moroccans. The "Union Marocaine du Travail" played no noticeable political role during the quarter under review.

Appointments

21. A number of officials came and left during M. Grandval's tenure of office. Apart from them, and in addition to the officials mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, the following were appointed and still held their posts at the end of the quarter:—

General Bertron, "Chef de la Région" at Fez in succession to General Franchi (August).

M. Pierre Louis Petitjean, Director of Public Security (August).

M. Louis Eyssautier, Director of Commerce and Shipping, and also of Industrial Production and Mines (August).

M. André Boulloche, Director of Public Works, Town Planning and Housing (August).

Commandant Michel Frois, Director of Information (September).

M. Jacques Fouchet, Head of the Cabinet Diplomatique (July).

M. Louis Albert des Longchamps, Head of the Cabinet Civil (September).

Colonel André Hutinel, Head of the Cabinet Militaire (September).

General Ernoul de la Chenelière took over command of the French Air Force from General Murtin on September 13. In the American Forces Brigadier-General Joseph J. Nazzaro took over the command of the Fifth United States Air Division at Sidi Slimane from Brigadier-General Charles B. Dougher in July.

22. In the Consular Corps M. Aldo Pierantoni assumed his duties as Italian Consul-General in June and M. Paul Lamotte as Belgian Consul-General in July. The Swedish Government, who have hitherto been represented by an honorary Consul, appointed a career officer, M. Karl Henrik Andersson, as Consul in August: he resides in Casablanca but his district comprises the whole of the French Zone.

JM 1016/189

No. 25

REPORT BY HER MAJESTY'S MINISTER ON HIS TOUR OF MOROCCO, OCTOBER 1955

Sir Gladwyn Jebb to Mr. Macmillan. (Received October 27)

(No. 407. Confidential) Paris,
Sir, October 26, 1955.

With his despatch No. 670 of the 29th of December, 1952, Sir Oliver Harvey forwarded an interesting report by Sir Anthony Rumbold on a short visit which he had recently made to Morocco. I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a most able report by Mr. Reilly on a similar tour from which he has just returned.

2. Three years ago Sir Anthony Rumbold's conclusion was that, provided the French did not lose their nerve, they should have no trouble in maintaining themselves in Morocco for a great many years to come. To-day the picture is indeed different. The French have to face a formidable challenge: a Nationalist movement, which embraces virtually the whole of the town population and which has spread into the countryside: a skilfully directed terrorist campaign which they are unable to suppress: sporadic tribal risings which have resulted in barbarous attacks on outlying French posts: and the threat of long-drawn-out operations against formed bodies of trained guerillas, directed and supplied by a central organisation, whose aim is to drive the French out of all North Africa and which enjoys the material and moral support of Egypt and the Arab League, paradoxically abetted by Spain: the whole being backed up by a continuous propaganda barrage from a series of foreign broadcasting stations, all regularly listened to even in country areas, where chiefs and tribesmen have been regarded as loyal friends of France.

3. It is not a sufficient explanation of this remarkable change to say that the French lost their nerve and started making unnecessary concessions. In fact they seem to have been over-confident when in August 1953 they took the drastic decision to expel the Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef. The consequences were unforeseen. The Moroccan problem became bedevilled by a basically irrelevant dynastic issue. Whatever his true standing hitherto, in exile Mohammed ben Youssef acted as a catalyst on Moroccan national

consciousness, which grew and spread with startling speed. At the same time the weapons of boycott and terrorism were ruthlessly used to consolidate the Nationalists' hold, and support from abroad increased.

4. Meanwhile the French had failed to follow up their momentary advantage. The operation of the removal of the Sultan was vitiated from the start by the fact that it was not the result of a coherent policy carefully worked out between Paris and Rabat. It was imposed on reluctant Ministers in Paris by an Administration in Rabat whose real allegiance lay not to its own Government but to Marshal Juin, to whose naturally conservative views was added a personal feud with Ben Youssef. Between them Ministers and Residency lacked the power, the imagination and perhaps the will to pursue the logical consequence of the ejection of the Sultan, namely a progressive policy of reforms under a new Sultan who could have some appeal for the young Moroccan nation. The choice of the elderly, inoffensive but colourless Ben Arafa was an extraordinary error of judgment. When after nine wasted months a new Resident-General put forward a reasonable policy, M. Mendès-France's Government had no time to attend to it. Then M. Grandval turned the spotlight on Morocco. His ideas were right but his methods were wrong; he greatly increased the tension in Morocco and raised avoidable obstacles to his own proposals, both there and in France.

5. At last in the Aix-les-Bains discussions at the end of August, M. Edgar Faure and M. July obtained agreement on a sensible programme, which for the first time offered a prospect of detaching the moderate Nationalists from the extremists. On the 8th of October by a fine parliamentary performance, M. Faure obtained a large majority of the Assembly in favour of this programme. Unfortunately owing to the opposition of the French in Morocco and the obstruction of the new Resident-General, the momentum of the Aix-les-Bains agreement had meanwhile been lost and the position of the Istiqlal had stiffened. The

result has been the party's rejection of the Council of the Throne as at last constituted, in spite of Ben Youssef's approval, and its refusal to join a Government under the Prime Minister nominated by the Council. This is a discouraging development since a Moroccan Government without the Istiqlal will have little value.

6. It will need energetic action to retrieve the situation. The present Resident-General can hardly be expected to provide it. Nor does it seem likely that, as things are, much drive will be applied from Paris. M. Faure, having concentrated his energies on the Moroccan problem for several months, will now be fully occupied with preparations for a general election. M. July has ceased to be concerned with Moroccan affairs, which have been transferred to M. Pinay, who, though now sound on the agreed policy, can hardly spare them much attention in the immediate future. If the Istiqlal cannot be induced to join the Government, possibly under another Prime Minister, French difficulties seem bound to increase. The moderate Nationalists will lose still more ground to the extremists and will be obliged to raise their terms. It may well be that before long the only means of rallying Nationalist opinion to a compromise solution, and of isolating the Moroccan problem from that of French North Africa as a whole, will be to put Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef back on the throne: but this is a decision which it will be extraordinarily difficult for the French to take. The Glaoui's *volte-face* shows which way the wind is blowing and the dismay it has caused here is equally significant.

7. Whatever the mistakes made by the French in Morocco in the last three years, I see no reason to differ from the main conclusion of Sir Oliver Harvey's despatch under reference, namely that we must support France in Morocco, both on general grounds and on the merits of the case. I hope that the general grounds do not need arguing. Both from the point of view of Anglo-French relations as a whole and from that of the importance of French North Africa to the West at a time when Soviet penetration of the Arab world is making such progress, they are surely unanswerable. And the merits of the case remain strong. France's achievement during less than fifty years in Morocco is remarkable. It has itself created for her a problem of exceptional complexity and, with our own colonial problems, we should

think twice before throwing stones at her for finding it difficult to solve. Her Government and Parliament have now committed themselves to a sensible policy. It is to the interest of Morocco, of France and of the free world that it should succeed. Morocco is not ready for independence or even for the degree of autonomy now enjoyed by Tunisia. I hope that we can give the French all possible encouragement to pursue their new policy, without attempting to lecture them, which would do more harm than good. I hope too that we will support them in any way we can, especially by using in their favour our influence at the United Nations and any influence we have with Governments which are adding to French difficulties in Morocco, particularly those of the Arab countries and of Spain.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington and Madrid, to Her Majesty's Consular Officers at Rabat, Casablanca, Tangier, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to career consular posts in France.

I have, &c.

GLADWYN JEBB.

Enclosure

*Report on a Tour of Morocco in
October 1955*

During a short tour of Morocco from October 8-18, I visited Rabat, Fez, Meknès, Casablanca, Marrakesh and Tangier. Owing to the confused situation at Rabat I could only see the Resident-General for a few minutes and the officials of the Residency concerned with political affairs whom I met were comparatively junior. At Fez, Meknès, Casablanca and Marrakesh I saw the Chefs de Région and had talks with many of their officials, civilian and military. In the Marrakesh Region I had an interesting afternoon with an officer of the Affaires Indigènes and a young Contrôleur Civil in charge of a district in the High Atlas. I met a number of non-official Frenchmen, ranging from one of the earliest "colons," with the most wildly reactionary views, to M. Baudoin de Moustier, son-in-law of M. Lemaigre-Dubreuil, a leader of liberal French opinion, with whom Mr. Pares and I had one of the most interesting discussions of my tour. I did not meet many Moroccans, but I had useful talks with a moderate

CONFIDENTIAL

Istiqlal leader at Fez, two independent Nationalists at Casablanca (one of whom is a possible Prime Minister), and two trade unionists, both members of the Istiqlal. One of the latter was a well-educated schoolmaster, and the other a much tougher type, who had worked in mines and had recently been in prison for nearly two years. Unfortunately I did not have a proper talk with any leading Traditionalists. The Glaoui was ill. A leading Caid of the Fez region, who had been at Aix-les-Bains, and with whom I had an appointment, was prevented from coming into Fez by trouble in his district. The Pasha of Fez, with whom I did have quite a long talk, was resolutely sitting on the fence and expressing no opinion. I met the centenarian Grand Vizir at Rabat, and his son, but serious talk with the former was not possible and the latter was saying little. I also met at Casablanca members of the British colony with long experience of the country. Finally I took part in a most useful discussion at Tangier with Mr. Julius Holmes, the United States Minister, Mr. Ferguson of the United States Mission, Her Majesty's Consul-General and Mr. Edward Scott, Mr. Freese-Pennefather and Mr. Pyman from Tetuan.

The French Achievement

2. It would be unfair to begin a report which must be critical of the recent performance of the French in Morocco without a tribute to their achievements there during the forty-three years of the Protectorate. The facts are too familiar to need repeating. Since I made almost the same tour in 1944 the material development of Morocco has been remarkable. Casablanca in particular is a boom town. I imagine that there has been a considerable non-French, and in particular local Jewish, contribution to its spectacular expansion, but I heard repeated references to the fact that in Morocco the French seem to have recovered the spirit of initiative and drive which has been so lacking in France. I think it is no accident that the modern architecture of Casablanca and other European towns in Morocco shows a distinction and sureness of touch seldom seen in France. The Moroccans could not possibly run Morocco as it now is. There are less than 500 Moroccan "bacheliers" and only one Polytechnicien. They lack administrators, technicians, business executives, bankers, teachers and all the various directing elements of a modern State, except perhaps lawyers. Complete

independence for Morocco now would mean administrative and economic chaos.

The Nationalist Challenge

3. All reasonable Moroccans know this and realise that they cannot do without foreign help. Nevertheless the present Nationalist challenge to the French in Morocco is a very formidable one. I think that in Paris we have been inclined to underestimate it and to think that it should not be very difficult for the French to obtain in Morocco a settlement similar to that in Tunisia. I am sure that Morocco is in every way a much tougher proposition than Tunisia.

4. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the *coup d'état* of August 1953, the French failed lamentably to justify it in the eyes of the Moroccans by building up Ben Arafa (if indeed that was ever possible) and by quickly putting through far-reaching reforms. In the event the ejection of Ben Youssef greatly increased their difficulties. He became a national hero and the symbol of Moroccan nationalism. In two years the Moroccan people went through a development in political consciousness which might normally have taken ten years or more. I think that the explanation is that Ben Youssef's removal was a severe shock to Moroccan national pride. The French usually deny that he had any real following before August 1953, and maintain that the wave of feeling in his favour did not start for at least six months and was an artificial product of foreign propaganda. If this is true, it makes their failure to exploit his removal all the less excusable.

5. Two things are worth mentioning which have contributed to the startlingly quick evolution of the last two years. One is the youth of the Moroccan population, about half of which is under twenty. The other is the new interest in politics of women, among whom Ben Youssef won much support by his advocacy of the unveiling and emancipation of women. It is only since the war that the Moroccan demand for Western education has gained any real momentum. It is now strong and considerable numbers of Moroccan boys and girls are going to the French schools. Some upper-class Moroccan girls, whose mothers may be quite uneducated, go to ordinary mixed Lycées. The differences between the generations in Morocco are thus much greater than is normal and add to the stresses of an unhappy situation.

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6. Naturally I heard conflicting views about the true extent of the support for Ben Youssef. The Nationalists claim that the whole country is for him, apart from a few Moroccan officials, Pashas and Caids, whom they dismiss as French puppets and stooges, the "Beni Oui Oui." Senior French officers of the older type concede the towns to the Nationalists and Ben Youssef; but they maintain that the country Caids and their tribes are still hostile to the ex-Sultan, whose exactions are not forgotten, and that the great majority of the country population, and especially the Berbers, are not interested in the Nationalist movement, despise the Arab townsmen and only want to be left in peace. From what I heard from other officials and from unofficial Frenchmen, in particular from M. de Moustier, I would guess that the Nationalist movement has spread well beyond the towns. M. de Moustier said that the older generation of Caids, who had fought the French and had real authority with their tribes, had now nearly all disappeared. The present Caids were French-appointed officials whose prestige and authority with their tribes often suffered from this fact. Of course there is still a real cleavage between town and country, and between Arabs and Berbers. If order broke down altogether, the wilder tribes would no doubt pillage the towns with zest. If there are elections, and if the Caids and tribal leaders could learn in time to play the political parliamentary game (I could not however find a Frenchman who thought that they would), they might, I should say, be able to form a strong country party, which might be more friendly to the French than the town Nationalists. But I feel sure that it is an illusion to think that the country can now be used against the town in support of the French and in opposition to Ben Youssef, as was done in 1953.

7. An odd feature of the Nationalist movement in Morocco is that it has no press at all, except in the Spanish zone, whose Nationalist press, violently hostile to the French but of course not to the Spaniards, scarcely circulates in the French zone. The movement's means of propaganda are the radio, boycott and terrorism. Everyone agreed that the radio penetrates everywhere, even in remote country and mountain areas. Listening is of course not forbidden and I heard suggestions that the Istiqlal distribute sets in the poorer areas. Everyone listens to

Cairo, Budapest, Tetuan and Melilla. (The French spoke of the last two as being as bad as Cairo or Budapest.) The boycott covers tobacco, alcohol, Western drinks such as Coca-Cola and French goods of all kinds, including the products of French-owned factories in Morocco. It may not be entirely effective but it is certainly having considerable economic results. Terrorism is very efficiently directed and affects a large part of the population. It is aimed primarily at Moroccans who support the French or do not conform to Nationalist directives. Its victims are mostly small men, informers, minor officials, tobaccoists, and so on. Its object is to enforce the Nationalists' grip on the Moroccan population, to maintain Franco-Moroccan tension, to discourage the French and gradually to wear down their resistance and their authority. The French are unable to keep pace with it. Their sources of intelligence have suffered severely and the population as a whole, even if not supporting the terrorists, is too frightened to give information about them. It is difficult to say how far the Istiqlal leaders actually in Morocco are involved in the terrorist campaign, but it certainly has the approval of many of their followers and they are unable, and probably unwilling, to denounce it. As the better educated of the two trade unionists whom I met put it: "Remember for us it is not terrorism but resistance."

8. The Aix-les-Bains agreement and the subsequent developments, including the establishment of the Council of the Throne, have not reduced terrorist attacks. On the contrary an interesting graph kept by the United States Consul-General at Rabat shows that armed attacks are now at their highest peak except for the week of the Oued Zem and Khenifra massacres in August. Terrorism is at its worst in the towns (shootings at Casablanca are running at the rate of five or six a day) but it is by no means confined to them. The Contrôleur Civil of Amizmiz (40 miles south-west of Marrakesh in the foothills of the High Atlas) told me that since it began in his district last June there had been 104 attacks, mostly minor sabotage, crop burning, &c., but nearly all directed against individuals and having a definite reason other than personal spite or revenge.

9. In the driving force of the Nationalist movement there is a strong element of Moslem fanaticism. It is true that while some of the leaders like Allal al Fassi are

products of the old-fashioned Islamic culture of the Kairouine University at Fez, more are completely "évolués" steeped in French ideas and culture. I could not however obtain confirmation of the view formed by Mr. Trevor-Roper after his visit to Morocco a year ago that Moroccan Nationalism is essentially Western and "laïque" in inspiration, looking to Kemal Atatürk, rather than to El Azhar and the Moslem Brotherhood. I think that both elements are present and much will depend on which gets the upper hand. The Contrôleur Civil in charge of the town of Marrakesh, an intelligent young man, gave me a vivid impression of what it means to be faced daily with this fanaticism and xenophobia. He was much discouraged by the hatred which he felt around him, and was pessimistic about the prospects of any lasting agreement with the Nationalists. He regarded them as at bottom implacable enemies, who would exploit every concession in order to ask for more.

10. Allied with this fanaticism is the savagery which is very near the surface among the more backward tribes, especially the Berbers. This combination produced the barbarities perpetrated at Oued Zem and elsewhere, which were probably as much anti-Christian as anti-French. The French authorities are naturally very anxious about the danger of more attacks of this kind. General de Latour has abandoned General Duval's policy of concentrating available forces at strategic points and is trying to give a small garrison to every post where there are Europeans in any number. I saw an example of this at Amizmiz where a company of 160 newly called-up reservists had just arrived from France. They were quartered in a small "Beau-Geste"-type fort, were short of transport, had had little training together and knew nothing of Morocco: nor could I see any sign of any defence scheme round the scattered European houses. No doubt however their presence should be an effective deterrent.

11. The General commanding the Marrakesh region told me that he was now satisfied that he had sufficient troops for his area and that he had no anxieties about the morale of his Moroccan troops. I had however the impression that the French were anxious about what would happen to it, if tribal operations spread and went badly. The appearance in the present operations in north-east Morocco of even small numbers of trained ex-soldiers

enrolled in the "National Liberation Army" and fighting a skilfully directed guerilla war, is a new and important factor. Some of these are ex-prisoners of the Viet Minh and the defeat in Indo-China is now, as expected, having its repercussions in North Africa. It is taking longer to finish the present operations than had been hoped and yet these risings were comparatively minor affairs compared with what might happen if revolt spread to a number of larger tribes.

12. Another consequence of Al Fassi's declaration is that it will now be more difficult to isolate the Moroccan problem. Lyazidi, Assistant Secretary-General of the Istiqlal and the senior leader present in Morocco, recently made a statement, I think to American journalists, on the lines that terrorism would lose its justification if the Moroccans' legitimate demands were met. He at once received threatening letters saying that the struggle must not cease until all North Africa is liberated. He took them seriously enough to try to water down his statement.

13. All this adds up to a potentially very dangerous situation. At present the moderate Nationalists seem to be calling for calm and keeping the towns more or less quiet. Apart from their inability to stop terrorism, the French hold on the country is still firm enough, but it is maintained at the price of a growing military effort and of serious economic strain. Most people agreed, however, that it would take little to set off an explosion and that, if there were widespread revolts among the tribes combined with major outbreaks in a number of larger towns, the French position would be very serious.

The Remedy

14. I am sure that in this situation the policy of the Faure Government is the right one and indeed the only possible one. The French must get the moderate Nationalists on their side, build them up as much as they can, give them real authority and make them face the responsibilities of government. However resolutely applied, this policy will not produce miracles. Terrorism will continue and there will doubtless be further trouble with the tribes. The "National Liberation Army" may be able to keep going harassing guerilla activities in certain areas. In the early stages of the new régime at least the Nationalist Ministers may be glad to see guerilla fighting and terrorism continue, as a means

of pressure on the French in their negotiations. But it is most important that they should be brought to condemn terrorism. None of this will be easy, but I think that there are some reasons for optimism. The moderate Nationalists at least recognise their need for French economic and technical help and they feel the strong pull of French culture, from which they cannot cut themselves adrift. They are afraid of the extremists and as townsmen fear the tribes. There are strong economic incentives for a settlement. Many of the Moroccan merchants, a class from which the Istiqlal originally arose, are suffering severely from the boycott and from the general economic depression produced by the present situation. Many people are hit by the collapse of the tourist trade. While terrorism may have the approval, or at least the acquiescence, of many Moroccans, it is making life very unpleasant for a mass of ordinary people, who long to be free of it. I heard many references to the sadness of the Moroccans, who are naturally gay, and certainly most of the Moroccans I saw in the streets looked pretty glum. A taxi driver at Marrakesh unburdened himself to me. He was afraid and miserable and longed for peace.

15. The able French Assistant Administrator at Tangier, a seconded Contrôleur Civil, who made the clearest analysis of the situation which I heard from any Frenchman, hit the nail on the head. To succeed, the new policy needs goodwill on both sides. Will it be forthcoming? Many Frenchmen, and not only reactionaries, fear that they will find no real goodwill among the Nationalists, that the latter will continually raise their bid and that they will never be satisfied until they have driven the French from Morocco. People of this type can suggest no remedy, except that their allies should exert severe pressure on the Arab League, Egypt and Spain (some wanted us to apply economic sanctions) in order to make them stop the propaganda to Morocco, in face of which so many Frenchmen feel helpless. I hope that this is too pessimistic a view. The Nationalists whom I met were all prepared to take the Faure Government's declaration of policy of October 1 as a basis for discussion, and to contemplate a settlement which would give the French a special position in the new Morocco, with arrangements such as French representation in municipal councils and so on. The refusal of the Istiqlal to join the new

Government is however not encouraging. Nevertheless I think that the French have no choice but to take big risks and that the chances of the success of the new policy depend to a great extent on the French themselves.

16. Their task is made more difficult by their habit of seeing people too much in black and white, and of classifying them as friends or enemies of France. This makes them far too emotional about individuals. For instance, their attitude to Si Bekkai is one of feelings hurt by his ingratitude. He was only a shepherd's son and they educated him; they made him an officer; when he lost a leg, they gave him a good job; and finally they actually created a post of Pasha for him. And yet he was loyal to Ben Youssef, the arch-enemy of France. So instead of building him up against the extremists as a moderate Nationalist, they wasted precious time on a futile rearguard action to keep him out of the Council of the Throne. The same emotional reaction will complicate the problem of Ben Youssef's return to the throne, which I would guess to be inevitable, unless he himself refuses. Several people told me that they thought the best thing the French could do would be to bring Ben Youssef back and to use his influence against the extremists and against the terrorist campaign. (Apparently he is an effective radio speaker.) It is going to be exceedingly difficult for the French to bring themselves to do this.

17. The first essential is resolution and continuity in France. The French Government must still give high priority to Moroccan affairs. It was disastrous that during the Mendès-France Government, when much might have been achieved with a liberal and able Resident-General, the French parliamentary and governmental machine made it impossible for M. Mendès-France to attend to Morocco. The French people for their part must be prepared to provide if necessary additional troops for North Africa, since the worse the military situation, the less will be the chances of a reasonable settlement with the moderate Nationalists.

18. In Morocco the first requirement is to get a coherent and effective team of senior officers at the Residency. A rather elderly Resident-General has been combining that post with the command of the three services, without having any senior civilian adviser on the political side. The Secretary-General, an able Prefect

from France, was at pains to point out that he only ran the technical side of the administration and had nothing to do with politics. The senior political official has been General Leblanc, who is believed to belong to the Juin school and has been much absent in Paris trying to get the Resident-General's views accepted by the Government. Many other senior posts are vacant. It is difficult to believe that the present Resident-General can apply the new policy effectively. His success in Tunis must, I think, be explained by the fact that he had in M. Seydoux a first-class civilian adviser, with whom he was on good terms and who did all the real work. In Morocco, he and M. de Panafieu quarrelled very quickly. From his own long experience of the country he was himself too closely associated with the conservative elements, French and Moroccan, to have any real belief in the new policy. There was talk during my visit of his being kicked upstairs to a new post of Commander-in-Chief of all French Forces in North Africa and of M. de Panafieu going back as Délégué or even as Resident-General. Neither strikes me as a good solution.

19. There will also be opposition to the new policy in the Administration. M. de Moustier thought, however, that if a new Resident-General got rid of at the most thirty to forty senior officials all would be well. In general I was well impressed by the quality of the French officials in Morocco. The officials of the central Administration are partly permanent members of the Moroccan Service and partly seconded from France. The latter include a number of Quai d'Orsay officials, Inspecteurs des Finances and post-war products of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, fully up to the standard of the best officials in Paris. The regional and district Administration is drawn from two different corps, the civil Contrôleurs Civils and the army officers of the Affaires Indigènes. In principle the latter run the more backward areas, but in practice the two corps are much mixed up. British residents with long experience of Morocco thought the Affaires Indigènes officers superior to the Contrôleurs Civils and spoke of a good deal of corruption, at least among the older Contrôleurs Civils and the civil servants of the central Administration. My impression however was that many of the younger and also some of the fairly senior Contrôleurs Civils were not only of excellent

quality, but were more liberal in their ideas than the Affaires Indigènes officers. Hitherto many of these people have been afraid to express their real views on the situation. Now they can do so more freely.

20. The Generals in command of regions were usually willing to admit rather grudgingly the need for a major advance, but it clearly went against the grain. The worst case of reactionary views was that of General Miquel, who commanded the Meknès region, and whose open opposition to the Government's policy made him the idol of the French settlers. His summary removal (he is believed in Morocco to be under arrest in Paris) was salutary. The acting Chef de Région, Colonel Badie (brother of the Deputy), and other senior officers, although, I should guess, of much the same opinion, were very careful in their language.

21. Politically the best of the military Chefs de Région is General Bertron at Fez, who has a reputation for skilful handling of the Moroccans. He is intelligent and sensible, but, if I were a Frenchman in Fez, I would not be much encouraged by the way in which he proclaims to all and sundry that the only thing he wants is to get back to Paris. General Franchi at Casablanca, whose civilian predecessor was sacked after the anti-Grandval riots in July, is pedestrian and a bit of a bore, but he is a solid sort of person and has handled the French in Casablanca firmly and sensibly. At Marrakesh General Massiet de Biest is a flamboyant figure who entertains royally. He was one of the Generals who threatened to resign if M. Grandval remained and is of the old school, but he knows his region very well. I have no doubt that a good many changes are needed at the top; but the problem is a tricky one, particularly since men like General Massiet de Biest have had long experience of commanding Moroccan troops whose morale must be a key factor in the situation. I am inclined to think that further wholesale sackings in the Grandval manner would be a mistake and that, if a few examples are made, the great majority of the officials, given resolute leadership from the Residency, will loyally carry out the Government's policy.

22. Finally, there is the very difficult problem of the opposition of the French residents in Morocco, who are tough and well-organised. When I arrived at Rabat I found people at the Residency speaking of them as if they were a sovereign power,

with whom the French Government must negotiate on equal terms. They are now dominated by the body known as "Union pour la Défense de la Présence Française de Maroc," with which are associated most of the Anciens Combattants and other patriotic organisations. The Présence Française has a programme giving lip service to Franco-Moroccan friendship, which is based on the principle of "co-sovereignty," i.e., the equal participation of French and Moroccans in the new Morocco, with the 350,000 French having the same representation in any elected bodies as the 8 million Moroccans. It is violently hostile to Ben Youssef and is a movement of Fascist character, its means of pressure being abuse, threats, rioting, demonstrations and strikes, enforced by violence. Characteristic features are bitter resentment against the Metropolitan French and extreme violence of language: France is "rotten" and all who support a liberal policy in Morocco are crooks, rascals, traitors and so on. The hard core of the movement consists of small people whose jobs would be threatened by Moroccanisation. Many of the more intelligent French, both unofficial and official, deplore its excesses. But since the Oued Zem massacre, the great majority of the French population follow the lead of Présence Française.

23. The effect of its activity is lamentable. While "counter-terrorism" seems to have ceased, for the present at least, it must have done a great deal of harm. The public insults to M. Grandval in Casablanca and Rabat gravely affected the prestige of the Resident-General in the eyes of Moroccans. By constant pressure on General de Latour, the Présence Française extracted from him a promise to abandon the Council of the Throne which was clean contrary to the French Government's policy. It was able to enforce the departure of M. Panafieu and also of a more junior official, M. Manet, whose offence was simply to have been previously on M. July's staff. The Resident-General encouraged the Présence Française by letting it be known that he would never fire on French demonstrators. I heard much criticism of his weakness with them. The Assembly's vote on October 8 was a salutary shock and it is significant that the establishment of the Council of the Throne, which the Présence Française had violently opposed, was not followed by any French demonstrations. No doubt Présence Française will continue to give

trouble, but I think that its bluff could be called without serious difficulty, provided it is firmly handled. But in the last resort the Resident-General must be prepared to fire on French rioters. If it is known that he is, it seems most unlikely that he would have any need to do so.

24. One can only hope that on both sides reason will prevail. If it does, a sensible settlement should be possible. The first need is for a Resident-General of outstanding quality, an up-to-date Lyautey. I wish I could see where he is to be found.

Communism

25. I found it difficult to form any opinion about the extent of the Communists' share in the present troubles. The right-wing French ascribe all their difficulties to the Communists and think no other explanation possible. But all the officials I spoke to admitted that they had no firm proof of direct Communist participation in Nationalist activities. Contrary to statements which have been made in Paris, no Russian-trained Communist agents have been captured nor have any documents been found proving that such agents are active. The very professional organisation of terrorism based on carefully insulated cells shows a resemblance to Communist methods. The French Force Ouvrière trade unionists whom I saw with Mr. Pares at Casablanca said that they were sure that the skilful sabotage of the phosphate installations at Khenifra must have been carried out under Communist direction. Colonel Badie, the conservative Acting Chef de Région at Meknès, told us that since Oued Zem the relatively few French Communists in his district, mostly schoolmasters, railwaymen, and so on, had abandoned communism. The Moroccan Communists had for some time all been members of the Istiqlal. They were making a special effort to penetrate the newly authorised Moroccan trade union, the Union Marocaine du Travail (U.M.T.). I should guess that, while the Moroccan extremists have learnt much from the Communists, and in general enjoy their support, direct Communist activity does not play a very important part in the present situation.

26. Much will depend on whether the Communists capture the new Moroccan trade union movement. At present it seems to be firmly held by the Istiqlal, and a separate Moroccan trade union under Communist leadership is said to be a

failure. One of the trade union leaders whom Mr. Pares and I saw was strongly anti-Communist; the others less so. Some of the movement's leaders have a Communist background. When Nationalists are in office, the pull of communism seems likely to be stronger. The establishment of a sound non-Communist trade union movement should therefore be an important French objective. I fear that the French are not likely to handle the problem very well. The French trade unions resent the fact that the Moroccan union is taking away their Moroccan members; the Administration is still suspicious. A number of Moroccan trade unionists wish to attend the I.C.F.T.U. course for trade union officials which will take place at Accra shortly, but when I left Morocco they had still been unable to obtain exit visas. It is all the more important to prevent the U.M.T. going Communist in that it is likely to form the basis of a new political party of a more popular character than the *bourgeois* Istiqlal. The first sign of this political activity is to be seen in the U.M.T.'s declaration rejecting the Council of the Throne as constituted.

Franco-Spanish Relations

27. Wherever I went one of the chief subjects of discussion was Spanish support for the Nationalists in general, and for the rebels in north-east Morocco in particular, about which the French were most indignant. The press and radio in the French zone played up to the maximum any evidence of help to the rebels from the Spanish zone. It is difficult to establish the facts. I have no doubt that arms and men do cross the frontier regularly, but in practice it can hardly be possible to prevent this entirely. Some tribes live on both sides of the frontier, which is apparently not clearly marked and means very little to the local inhabitants, so that there is constant coming and going across it. The Spanish Consul-General at Rabat admitted that arms were probably being landed on the coast of Spanish Morocco, but maintained that it was not possible for the Spanish authorities to prevent them being smuggled the short distance across the Spanish zone, any more than the French could prevent them being smuggled much longer distances in their zone. He of course denied flatly that, as the French allege, "commandos" of the National Liberation Army are being

formed and trained in the Spanish zone under the noses of the Spanish authorities. Mr. Pyman considers that the Spaniards can be believed on this point, since it goes right against their normal policy to allow Moroccans to carry arms and it would be quite unlike them to take risks with armed bodies of rebels. The French also complain that they are fired on from across the frontier. They were particularly angry about the original attack on a post in an enclave in the Spanish zone during which a neighbouring Spanish post apparently did not intervene in any way. Just how far the Spaniards can really prevent this sort of thing it is very difficult to judge. The jamming of French military radio communications, if it is a fact, and I suppose it must be, is another matter and seems quite inexcusable.

28. Franco-Spanish relations in Morocco are now very bad. The Spaniards are well represented at Rabat and their Consul-General, who sees the Resident-General frequently, is doing his best to improve them. But the High Commissioner at Tetuan is violently anti-French and seems to be a law to himself. A French military liaison officer has been appointed to Tetuan, but what is really needed is a number of liaison officers on both sides in the area of operations. I heard nothing to suggest that this is contemplated. Mr. Pyman's view was that the true ground for French complaints is not so much direct help to the rebels, but the general support given to the Nationalists by the press and radio of the Spanish zone which, for instance, gave full publicity to Al Fassi's manifesto. The Spaniards are playing with fire and it seems madness that they should seek to curry favour with the Arab States, or to vent their spite about rebuffs on quite different matters, by making difficulties for the French which in the long run can only hoist them with their own petard.

29. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to all Her Majesty's Consular Officers in Morocco, who did so much to make my tour useful and enjoyable. In Morocco things are now often trying and sometimes unpleasant. I think that we have a very good team there.

D. P. REILLY.

October 24, 1955

JM 1016/208

No. 26

REFLECTIONS ON THE IMPENDING RETURN OF SULTAN MOHAMMED BEN YOUSSEF TO MOROCCO

Mr. Hartley to Mr. Macmillan. (Received November 14)

(No. 81. Confidential)

Rabat,

Sir,

November 7, 1955.

As you are well aware, Sir, on the last day of October and two days after the act of abdication of Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, which I had the honour to report in my despatch No. 80 of the 31st of October, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef arrived in France from his two-year exile in Madagascar in accordance with the pledge which had been given by the French Government to Moroccan nationalists during the Aix-les-Bains talks.

2. The management of Moroccan affairs having reverted on the dissolution of the Ministry of Tunisian and Moroccan Affairs some 10 days earlier to the Quai d'Orsay, the former Sultan was met on arrival by M. Yrissou who had partnered General Catroux during his Madagascar mission. On the following day Mohammed ben Youssef took up residence at St. Germain-en-Laye and had his first interview with the Foreign Secretary. Further discussions with French Government representatives culminated on the 5th of November in the Cabinet's consent to his resumption of sovereignty, and in the publication of the Exchange of Letters between General Catroux and himself at Antsirabé. On the following day he again met the Foreign Secretary (who during this time also had the Geneva Conference on his hands) and a joint declaration was issued by, as he now is again, His Majesty Mohammed V and M. Pinay.

3. The joint declaration of the 6th of November, M. Faure's speech in the Assembly during the debate on Morocco on the 8th of October, M. July's statement on behalf of the French Government of the 1st of October, and the Catroux Exchange of Letters of the 8th and 9th of September can be taken as a full exposition of France's policy towards Morocco, to which its reinstated Sovereign has indicated his agreement. It may be found useful to have the texts⁽¹⁾ of these declarations and letters together, and so I am enclosing them herein.

4. Mohammed ben Youssef's consent to the establishment of a democratic State with a constitutional monarchy and a Government to manage the affairs of the country and negotiate freely its future relationship with France, paying particular regard to French interests in Morocco (independence within the framework of interdependence), is an indication that his two years of exile have somewhat mellowed his political thought. There are already signs that his acceptance of this middle course is displeasing to the extremist Istiqlal Party whom, it was noticeable, he did not welcome on his return as the one and only representative of Moroccan patriotism. He has, indeed, shown a preference for the more stable Parti Démocrate de l'Indépendance and no noticeable rancour towards those Moroccans who disowned him in the past and collaborated with the French. Istiqlal's resentment of this conciliatory attitude is such that their propaganda machine, which during his exile, successfully made of him a national hero, is already working towards his denigration. There is no doubt that the return of the Sultan to France was a signal for the Moors to express their joy for four days on end in a manner not seen in this country for a long time, and, it must be added, the Glaoui's unexpected last-minute allegiance was a tremendous fillip to this happier frame of mind. It is therefore disquieting to note that intimidation and terrorist activities after this lull have resumed their normal rhythm. The word has started to go round that photographs and banners of the Sultan, which a few days ago were being brandished by their thousands, are to appear no more, and the daily toll of assassinations continues. There seems little doubt that agitators will do their best to work up the crowds who will welcome their returning Sovereign and it would be pleasant to hear for a change that they failed in their efforts.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

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5. The Resident-General tendered his resignation on the 29th of October. Who his successor will be and the date of his installation is not yet known. On General de Latour's assumption of duty here, after the Grandval experiment, it looked at one time as if a military dictatorship, backed by the clamant French element of no-concession to the native, might well carry the day. The march of events proved much too strong for them, however, and nothing has been more surprising, after all the fuss and bother of the removal of Moulay ben Arafa and the installation of the Council of the Throne, than the tacit assumption of the local French population and its Press of the inevitable return, sooner or later, of Mohammed V. Even the die-hards, as exemplified by *Présence Française* now accept him without murmur.

6. In a short space of time we may well see Mohammed V acclaimed as a champion by those who did their best to keep him away, and as a traitor by those who have been working for his return. This, on the assumption that he means to adhere to his new-found agreement with the French. It still remains to be seen how he will in fact react once he is in the saddle again. But peace he does not bring. Let us hope his personality will establish it and bring an end to the bewilderment and passions of his politically immature people.

7. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consuls at Casablanca and Fez, to the British Middle East Office at Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.

J. E. HARTLEY.

CONFIDENTIAL

JM 1016/213

No. 27

ARRIVAL OF NEW RESIDENT-GENERAL M. DUBOIS

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Macmillan. (Received November 21)(No. 84. Unclassified)
Sir,Rabat,
November 14, 1955.

I have the honour to report that, since Mr. Hartley's despatch No. 81 of the 7th of November, M. André Dubois, the Prefect of Police in Paris, succeeded General Boyer de Latour as Resident-General.

2. The outgoing Resident-General who, as you will recall, succeeded M. Grandval on the 31st of August, left Rabat during the afternoon of the 11th of November. A crowd, estimated at about 2,000 people, in which there were a number of Moroccans who had served under him in the army in past days, went to the airport to see him off. In the morning he had taken the salute at the military parade customarily held on the 11th of November in commemoration of the two World Wars and afterwards, as his last official act, he had attended a reunion of the local branch of the *Anciens Combattants*, during the course of which he exhorted the French and Moroccans to face the future in the same spirit of union and loyalty which had always bound them together when they had fought side by side together. On the following day General de Latour met his successor in Paris.

3. M. André Dubois arrived in Rabat by air yesterday afternoon and was met at the airport by Si Ben Slimane, Prime Minister designate, and by the leading officials of the Administration and senior officers of the armed forces. Before the day was over he had found time to place a wreath on Marshal Lyautey's tomb, to be formally presented to the Guardians of the Throne and to receive the Consular Corps, the leading members of the Church and the Law, Protectorate officials, members of the armed forces and other local personalities, both French and Moroccan. He thus has two clear days in which to settle into office and make arrangements for the reception of the Sultan, Mohammed V, who is due to return to his capital on the 16th of November.

4. M. Dubois brought with him a team, consisting of M. Roger Lalouette, who replaces M. de Panafieu as *délégué* and has seen service in Morocco in the past under General Nogues; Count Christian Clauzel, who will act as Counsellor for Sheroefian Affairs and will thus become the principal liaison officer between the Throne and the Residency; M. Gabriel van Laethem, who is to be his *chef de Cabinet*, assisted by MM. Bernard and Riou. Biographies of these new personalities are being sent to you under separate cover.

5. I am copying this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consuls at Casablanca and Fez, to the British Middle East Office at Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

CONFIDENTIAL

JM 1016/210

No. 28

THE RETURN OF SULTAN BEN YOUSSEF AND ITS LIKELY REPERCUSSIONS

Sir Gladwyn Jebb to Mr. Macmillan. (Received November 18)(No. 432. Confidential) Paris,
Sir, November 16, 1955.

In paragraph 5 of my despatch No. 407 of the 26th of October enclosing Her Majesty's Minister's report on his visit to Morocco, I wrote: "It may be that before long the only means of rallying Nationalist opinion to a compromise solution and of isolating the Moroccan problem from that of French North Africa as a whole will be to put Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef back on the Throne. But this is a decision which it will be extraordinarily difficult for the French to take." Ten days later on the 5th of November the French Government announced their recognition of Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef as Sultan of Morocco and their readiness to let him return to Rabat at a date of his choosing (which is now to be the 16th of November). Those who have condemned the chronic *immobilisme* of French Governments are left breathless by the rapidity of this decision. As recently as the 8th of October M. Edgar Faure stated categorically in reply to an accusation made by M. Schmittlein that the return of the former Sultan was absolutely excluded. What has in fact happened, of course, is that the French Government have, as in August 1953, had to bow to the pressure of events. At least they have done so with a good grace.

2. The immediate cause of the French Government's decision was the *volte-face* of El Glaoui on the 25th of October. Needless to say, stories are already circulating that El Glaoui was heavily bribed to come out in favour of the former Sultan. Without giving credence to such stories, it is obvious that the Glaoui in order to protect his material interests had to climb on the band wagon before it was too late. In making his calculation he must have been influenced by the revelation of the impotence of his French friends on the extreme Right in Paris and in Morocco to prevent the departure of Ben Arafa. It is surely in keeping with Berber tradition to rally to the side of the victor. Whatever his motives, El Glaoui has had to pay a

heavy price for his redemption. When he came to seek the Sultan's pardon on the 8th of November, he was first kept waiting in an ante-room for an hour and a quarter. When he was finally admitted to grovel for three minutes at his sovereign's feet, he found that this act of penance was recorded for the delectation of the profane by press photographers, whom the Sultan had maliciously posted at every window. In the circumstances Mohammed Ben Youssef could well afford a display of public magnanimity. No wonder that El Glaoui vented his humiliation on those who "had led him into error" (Marshal Juin and M. Bidault) by calling the curse of Allah on their heads.

3. It is now clear that, once the Right wing had had their bluff called in Morocco by the removal of Ben Arafa and in Paris by the huge majority which supported M. Faure's Moroccan policy, the return of Ben Youssef was inevitable sooner or later. El Glaoui merely precipitated events. In paragraph 11 of my despatch No. 359 of the 2nd of September I referred to stories that M. Edgar Faure was all along working for the return of Ben Youssef. While it cannot be said that the *dénouement* proves the truth of these stories, it at least lends them considerable plausibility.

4. Even if we accept this Machiavellian interpretation of M. Faure's behaviour, it does not completely explain the ease with which he was able to make the final transition, and the total absence of political opposition. In part this may be due to his election manoeuvre which has taken people's minds off everything else. It is indeed the only subject of conversation at the moment and there is scarcely any pretence of serious interest in North African problems, still less in the Saar, and least of all in the Geneva Conference. Also I think the Right wing has been completely deflated. They defended an unreasonable course (the maintenance of Ben Arafa) for so long and with such savagery that they no longer have the credit to defend a less exposed position. This may have important political consequences.

CONFIDENTIAL

5. The real issue, however, has yet to be faced. Now that the "préalable dynastique" has been cleared out of the way, France has to decide just how much of her rights in Morocco she is prepared to give up. According to Her Majesty's Consul-General, Rabat, French officials in the Residency were thinking last month in terms of France retaining the Departments of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Finance and of keeping a foothold in the Ministry of Agriculture. A similar approach was shown by M. Basdevant who, since the amalgamation of the Ministry of Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs with the Quai d'Orsay, has remained at the head of a separate Directorate for Morocco and Tunisia and with whom Her Majesty's Minister discussed the subject on the 14th of November. M. Basdevant explained that there would have to be two parallel and simultaneous sets of negotiations with the new Moroccan Government when it was formed. One would deal with Franco-Moroccan relations, and M. Basdevant made it clear that the French intended to retain full responsibility for foreign affairs and defence for as long a time to come as could at present be usefully considered. The other would deal with internal reforms. The practice of direct administration which had grown up in violation of the Treaty of Fez would naturally have to be abandoned. On the other hand the Treaty of Fez expressly reserved to the French all initiative for internal reforms. To this extent the treaty would have to be revised and reforms to make Morocco into a modern democratic State would be negotiated between the French and Moroccan Governments. The reforms would of course have to make provision for safeguarding the rights of the French settlers in Morocco.

6. M. Basdevant clearly expected that these two sets of negotiations would take many months, if not years. When Mr. Reilly asked if the Moroccan Nationalists could be expected to accept this programme as fulfilling the promise of "Independence in Interdependence," M. Basdevant replied that it would be a mistake to attribute too much importance to words. In Tunisia the words "internal autonomy" had been used which sounded less impressive than the phrase "independence in interdependence" which the present political atmosphere made necessary for Morocco. Yet the Tunisians had been given a degree of responsibility for carrying

through internal reforms on their own which the French Government did not propose to give to the Moroccans (and for which, unlike the Tunisians, the Moroccans were not yet ready).

7. The programme outlined by M. Basdevant seems to correspond well enough with the present political evolution of Morocco: it is indeed just the sort of programme which could and should have been carried out immediately after the installation of Ben Arafat. But there must be some doubts as to whether it will prove possible to apply it in present circumstances. No doubt Her Majesty's Consul-General, Rabat, will comment on this aspect: as seen from here it would be surprising if the Istiqlal were prepared to accept this programme as constituting "independence." It seems clear enough from the recent pronouncements of even moderate Istiqlal leaders that they are expecting considerably more. With all respect to M. Basdevant, words are important, and if the French have used the word "independence" rather than "internal autonomy" it is presumably because they have felt compelled to do so. And if, dissatisfied with the French proposals, the Istiqlal refuse to join the Moroccan Government and thus to accept responsibility, the chances of achieving a lasting settlement will have been gravely compromised.

8. The French Government realise that Istiqlal co-operation is indispensable. One would expect them also to realise that it is uncertain, but M. Basdevant seemed confident that the Istiqlal would join the Government. The French are presumably counting on the Sultan to bring the Istiqlal along with him. This is yet another factor in the Sultan's immensely strong bargaining position. It would no doubt be an exaggeration to say that he can dictate his terms to the French: for one thing he may need their support in his dealings with the extremists, and he knows that without them his country could relapse into the anarchy of the 19th century. But on the other hand he cannot afford to let himself be hopelessly outbid by a large section of the Istiqlal. So far here in Paris he has not felt the full pressure of extreme Nationalist opinion, but when he returns to Rabat, he may find himself compelled to take up a more intransigent attitude than he has apparently adopted so far in his dealings with French Ministers. His undiminished capacity for authoritarianism has incidentally been

confirmed in the past few days in his dealings with the Glaoui, with El Kettani and with the Makhzen. The French would do well to prepare themselves for some very hard bargaining.

9. Two other incidents show that the Sultan is now likely to take an independent line with the French Government. He is reported to have used in conversation both with the Spanish Ambassador in Paris and with representatives of Spanish newspapers expressions of gratitude for the attitude of the Spanish Government during his exile whose fulsomeness must have made a disagreeable impression on French readers. He is also stated to be planning a visit to Madrid in the first half of next year. More important perhaps is his answer to a question from the *Daily Express* correspondent in Paris about the American air bases in Morocco. He is reported to have said: "The agreement with the Americans was made without consulting the Moroccans. As soon as a freely chosen Government is established we shall take over the agreement, find out its terms and make our own decisions." The correspondent commented that the Sultan did not necessarily imply that he would wish to cancel the agreement, but he made it clear that it would be open to the new Moroccan Government to reconsider it if they wished to do so. An article in to-day's *Combat* suggests that the Sultan was put up to raise the subject of the American bases by General de Gaulle—on whom the Sultan himself called—presumably through motives of *Schadenfreude*. I would not rule out this possibility altogether, but the author of the article is notoriously unreliable and the story should be treated with reserve.

10. Moreover it is by no means certain that if the French Government in the course of their negotiations with the Moroccan Government find themselves compelled to make a show of authority they will receive adequate political support at home. As I explained, the extreme Right have now discredited themselves. As a consequence there is a dangerous mood of facility in the air, reminiscent of the mood which prevailed in the closing stages of the Indo-Chinese war. I am not at all sure that this, or the next Assembly will not acquiesce in a policy of surrender rather than make the necessary

sacrifices to enable the Government to negotiate from a position of strength.

11. Much will depend of course on the new Resident-General, M. Dubois. He is regarded by his colleagues in the prefectural service as something of a lightweight with useful political connections. But as a Prefect of Police he displayed considerable administrative capacity and above all an undoubted talent for public relations. Whether these qualities will suffice in a post where the prime need is for strength of character remains to be seen.

12. I am afraid that I find it difficult to feel much confidence in the eventual outcome. There is no disguising the weakness of the French position. The events of the past two years cannot simply be forgotten as the Sultan in an unwonted outburst of magnanimity has affected to do. Moreover terrorism seems now to be worse than ever, which suggests that the pressure of the extreme Nationalists will continue to be severe. Much may depend on the outcome of the meeting which is about to take place in Madrid between the Istiqlal leaders of the rival "Eastern" and "Western" tendencies. There can, however, be no certainty that, even if the French are able to reach an acceptable settlement with the Moroccan negotiators, the situation in Morocco can be held through what seems bound to be a long period of negotiation. The French hope is that a settlement in Morocco together with the maintenance of the settlement reached in Tunisia will produce a marked improvement in Algeria. But a serious outbreak of disorders in Morocco now would have much graver consequences than before the restoration of the Sultan and would not only imperil the fragile stability of Tunisia but give encouragement and succour to France's enemies in Algeria. In short, though a good beginning has been made, the likelihood of any real settlement is not very great at the moment. One good thing is that at least the French are no longer sitting on the safety valve.

13. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Madrid, Algiers, Tunis, Tangier, Rabat, Casablanca and Tetuan.

I have, &c.

GLADWYN JEBB.

JM 1016/216

No. 29

RETURN OF SULTAN BEN YOUSSEF: SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Macmillan. (Received November 22)(No. 87. Unclassified)
Sir,*Rabat,
November 19, 1955.*

With reference to my despatch No. 86 of to-day regarding the celebrations on the occasion of the "Fête du Trône" I have the honour to transmit to you herewith copies of the Speech from the Throne which the Sultan made on this occasion.

2. After referring to the trials of his exile and to the joy at his return, His Majesty said that he had never given up or ceased to press for the aspirations of his people. They had at last found a happy issue from the crisis through which they had passed and the mosques were again filled with the faithful. He had now resumed his responsibilities and during his stay in France he had had very cordial interviews with the French Government resulting in an agreement on essential principles. He was happy to announce that negotiations would be opened with the French Government which would put an end to the Protectorate régime and introduce an era of freedom and independence, with a democracy which would exclude all racial discrimination and be based on the declaration of the Rights of Man. This independence must not, however, be held to imply any weakening of their bonds with France since the friendship between the two countries had taken firm root and went back far into history. Thanks to this friendship and to the achievements of the French, Morocco had been able to make great steps in the way of progress and he counted on her help for inaugurating a new era of interdependence between the two countries.

3. His Majesty's first objective was the setting up of a responsible representative Moroccan Government which would have three missions to fulfil:—

- (i) the conduct of public affairs;
- (ii) the creation of democratic institutions founded on the principle of the separation of powers, within a constitutional monarchy which would give Moroccans of all creeds the rights of citizenship and of enjoying public liberties and freedom of association. Moroccan Jews would have the same rights and duties as other Moroccans;
- (iii) negotiations with the French Government on the following bases: the ideas of liberty and of democracy in the post-war world had spread so widely that independence and national dignity could no longer be the exclusive prerogatives of certain peoples, but the difficulties of the world to-day and the inter-connexion of interests required all nations to protect their heritage and provide for their security—requirements which implied an even closer union and co-operation between them. That was why the Moroccan Government must define, in the course of the negotiations, the framework and meaning of independence within interdependence between Morocco and France, founded on equality and on mutual respect of their sovereignty. This new relationship was not incompatible with maintaining the spiritual and cultural ties with the other Arab peoples, and he was glad to see that the West took the needs and aspirations of these peoples into account and was co-operating with them for their common good and for the happiness of humanity.

4. The above were the essential political principles which the Moroccan Government would have to define in detail with the French Government but it must not be forgotten that Morocco had among her inhabitants a large number of French citizens who had contributed to her evolution generally and more especially to her economic prosperity. His Majesty expressed appreciation of the spirit of understanding which most of the French had shown towards the aspirations of the Moroccan people and wished to assure them that their interests and rights would be protected in the future: he hoped that they would co-operate towards the prosperity of all with a view to consolidating and preserving the friendship between the two countries. Finally, he urged his people to close their ranks, so as to devote

CONFIDENTIAL

themselves to the public interest and to the defence of the nation's rights. He thanked all who had expressed their sympathy and solidarity with his cause and prayed that the unity of the nation might be upheld.

5. The first reactions to the Speech from the Throne are reported to have been favourable in both French and Moroccan circles. *Présence Française* published a communiqué acknowledging that with the Protectorate Treaty virtually at an end the French would come under the jurisdiction of Moroccan sovereignty like the Moroccan people themselves. The French community should therefore establish its position by negotiations with the Moroccan Government and France herself should guarantee any resulting "statute." The organisation stressed the need for a careful definition of "interdependence" and expressed the hope that the problem of terrorism, which had not been mentioned by the Sultan, would form the subject of a future declaration. Finally they took note that discussions were proceeding about problems relating to the Spanish Zone. The "Parti Démocrate de l'Indépendance," through their Secretary-General, expressed their entire agreement with regard to a constitutional monarchy as also with the governmental programme as described in the Speech from the Throne. The Istiqlal have been slower in coming round but, according to a Press report from Madrid, their leader, Si Allal el Fassi, and their Executive Committee appear to have reached agreement on proclaiming their full support of His Majesty Si Mohammed ben Youssef.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consuls at Casablanca and Fez, to the British Middle East Office at Beirut, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations, New York.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

Enclosure

LE DISCOURS DU TRÔNE

L'Echo du Maroc, November 19, 1955

Voici le texte intégral du discours du Trône que S.M. le Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef a prononcé hier à 10 heures, à Rabat:

Louange à Dieu Seul,
A notre peuple cher et fidèle,

En ce jour béni, Dieu nous comble de ses bienfaits, en nous permettant, après une douloureuse séparation, de revenir dans notre chère patrie, au milieu de notre peuple, ce peuple qui n'a jamais cessé de Nous attendre, comme Nous n'avons jamais perdu l'espoir de le retrouver et qui a largement payé de retour Notre fidélité à son égard.

Ensemble, nous avons été soumis à une épreuve qui, loin d'entamer notre volonté commune, n'a fait qu'affermir notre foi en notre destin et rendre plus nette notre conscience de nos droits et de nos devoirs.

En ce jour de liesse, vingt-huitième anniversaire de Notre accession au trône de Nos glorieux ancêtres, Nous t'adressons, noble peuple, selon Notre coutume, Notre discours du Trône rappelant nos efforts d'hier et exposant les objectifs à atteindre.

Vous connaissez Notre persévérance. Nous avons toujours agi en vue de faire accéder le Maroc à un rang digne de son prestigieux passé et de sa position importante dans le monde moderne. Les difficultés ne Nous ont pas ébranlé et les obstacles ne Nous ont pas fait reculer. Nous n'avons jamais hésité à proclamer la vérité et à réclamer le changement de régime établi pour répondre à la volonté de Notre peuple et satisfaire ses aspirations.

CONFIDENTIAL

Puis, la crise a surgi et Nous avons dû affronter bien des périls. Après nous avoir jugé dans cette épreuve, Dieu tout-puissant a voulu qu'elle trouve son heureux dénouement. De nouveau, les mosquées ont connu l'affluence des fidèles et, de toutes parts, se sont élevées des prières pour Nous et Notre peuple.

A la douleur de la séparation a succédé l'allégresse. Dieu soit loué qui, dans sa mansuétude, a dissipé nos peines.

Nous avons, aussitôt, repris notre tâche, conformément aux responsabilités qui nous incombent. Nous inspirant des opinions les plus autorisées, suivant la voix de la raison et de la sagesse.

Pendant notre séjour en France, Nous avons eu, avec le gouvernement français, au sujet du Maroc, des entretiens pleins de cordialité et de compréhension.

Ces entretiens ont abouti à un accord sur les principes essentiels.

Il appartiendra au gouvernement qui se constituera sous Notre égide d'ouvrir des négociations avec le gouvernement français.

Nous Nous réjouissons de pouvoir annoncer la fin régime de tutelle et de protectorat et l'avènement d'une ère de liberté et d'indépendance.

Le moment est venu de mobiliser toutes les énergies pour construire un Maroc nouveau. Cette entreprise exigera une transformation profonde des habitudes, des institutions et des méthodes de gouvernement, de même qu'elle impliquera une émancipation de l'individu, lui assurant dans la sécurité, la jouissance de toutes ses libertés.

Ainsi le Maroc parviendra à réaliser l'indépendance que Nous n'avons cessé de revendiquer, non seulement comme le droit naturel de tous les peuples, sans distinction, mais encore comme le moyen le plus sûr de les faire bénéficier, à la fois, de l'évolution du monde moderne et des avantages d'un régime démocratique excluant toute discrimination raciale et s'inspirant de la déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme.

L'indépendance à laquelle Notre peuple aspire ne doit pas signifier un relâchement de Nos liens avec la France, car l'amitié entre Nos deux pays est solidement enracinée et remonte loin dans l'histoire.

D'autre part, Nous n'avons pas perdu de vue que, grâce à cette amitié et aux réalisations françaises dans les différents domaines, le Maroc a pu franchir d'importantes étapes dans la voie des progrès.

Nous comptons sur le concours de la France pour inaugurer une ère nouvelle d'interdépendance entre Nos deux pays.

Notre premier objectif est la constitution d'un gouvernement marocain responsable et représentatif, expression authentique de la volonté du peuple.

Il aura à remplir trois missions à la fois :

(1) La gestion des affaires publiques.

(2) La création d'institutions démocratiques issues d'élections libres, fondées sur le principe de la séparation des pouvoirs dans le cadre d'une monarchie constitutionnelle reconnaissant aux Marocains de toutes confessions les droits du citoyen et l'exercice des libertés publiques et syndicales.

Il est évident que les Marocains israélites ont les mêmes droits et les mêmes devoirs que les autres Marocains.

(3) La troisième mission du futur gouvernement marocain consistera à ouvrir, avec le gouvernement français, des négociations sur la base des considérations suivantes :

Les idées de liberté et de démocratie ont eu, dans le monde d'après-guerre, une extension telle que la conscience universelle n'admet plus que l'indépendance et la dignité demeurent l'apanage exclusif de quelques peuples.

D'autre part, les difficultés du monde actuel et l'interpénétration des intérêts imposent à toutes les nations, pour qu'elles sauvegardent leur patrimoine et assurent leur sécurité, une union toujours plus solide et une coopération de plus en plus étroite.

C'est pourquoi il incombe au gouvernement marocain, au cours des négociations, de définir le cadre et le contenu de l'indépendance de notre pays et les nouveaux rapports d'interdépendance entre le Maroc et la France, sur les bases de leur égalité et le respect mutuel de leur souveraineté.

Ces nouveaux rapports ne sont pas incompatibles avec le maintien de nos liens spirituels et culturels avec les autres peuples arabes. Nous souhaitons voir l'Occident prendre en considération les besoins et les aspirations de ces peuples et coopérer avec eux pour le bien commun et le bonheur de l'humanité.

Au terme des négociations, le régime de protectorat prendra fin et le Maroc connaîtra une ère nouvelle où il exercera sa souveraineté dans le cadre des nouveaux accords et dans un esprit de compréhension et de coopération féconde avec le peuple français.

Tels sont les principes politiques essentiels dont il appartiendra au gouvernement marocain de préciser le contenu avec le gouvernement français.

Il importe de ne pas oublier que le Maroc compte parmi ses habitants un nombre appréciable de citoyens français, qui ont contribué à son évolution générale et plus particulièrement à sa prospérité économique.

Nous avons constaté avec satisfaction l'esprit de compréhension dont la plupart d'entre eux ont fait preuve à l'égard des aspirations de Notre peuple à la liberté et à l'indépendance.

Nous tenons à ce que tous soient rassurés quant à leur avenir. Nous sommes toujours disposés à garantir leurs intérêts, leurs droits et leur statut personnel, dans le respect de la souveraineté marocaine.

Notre vœu est de voir marocains et français coopérer pour la prospérité du Maroc et le bien de tous, en vue de consolider leurs relations et de sauvegarder l'amitié entre nos deux pays.

Maintenant que Nous vous avons exposé Nos objectifs, Nous vous appelons à vous unir fraternellement et à resserrer vos rangs pour ne former qu'un seul bloc. Que l'intérêt général et la défense des droits de la nation demeurent votre constante préoccupation.

Nous saisissons cette occasion pour exprimer Notre gratitude à tous ceux qui Nous ont manifesté leur sympathie et leur solidarité.

Nous prions Dieu de Nous assister dans Nos efforts pour maintenir l'unité de la nation, veiller sur ses intérêts et assurer son bonheur.

JM 1016/229

No. 30

CONSULTATIONS PRECEDING THE FORMATION OF A MOROCCAN GOVERNMENT

Mr. Freese-Pennefather to Mr. Macmillan. (Received December 8)(No. 91. Unclassified)
Sir,Rabat,
December 2, 1955.

I have the honour to refer to my despatch No. 90 of the 1st of December in which I reported Si Bekkai's acceptance to form a Moroccan Government and to submit the following account of the political consultations which took place during the preceding week for the nomination of a President of the Council.

2. On the 22nd of November the Sultan began negotiations with representatives of political parties, trade unions and other bodies for the purpose of nominating a new President of the Council who would undertake the formation of a Government "in agreement with the Sultan, sole depository of Moroccan sovereignty in the present circumstances." Having disposed of the Maghzen, of the Council of the Throne and of their Prime Minister designate, His Majesty concentrated all the attributes of Moroccan sovereignty in his person before launching the new régime. In an interview given to a correspondent of *Le Monde* the Sultan said that the Moroccan Government would be responsible to him, until a Parliament was elected, but that he had no intention of acting as an absolute monarch; he would set up a Consultative Council to enable him to take account of the different trends of Moroccan opinion.

3. The first personality to be received was His Excellency Si Fathmi ben Slimane who informed the Sultan of the result of the conversations which he had held with political leaders and others prior to His Majesty's return. The Sultan then put four questions to the representatives of the Istiqlal Party, of the "Partie Démocrate de l'Indépendance" (P.D.I.) and of the "Union Marocaine de Travail" (U.M.T.) these were:—

- (i) Name one or two persons who could form a Government representing the widest possible field of Moroccan opinion.
- (ii) What should the Government's composition be—i.e., the proportion of portfolios to be held by the various political parties or elements?
- (iii) How many Ministers should the Government contain?
- (iv) What should its programme be?

Replies were promised within a few days.

4. On the following day the Sultan called into consultation a number of eminent and representative personalities, including His Excellency Si Bekkai; Si Ahmed Bargache, a former Vizir of "Habous"; Si Ahmed Zeghari, a former President of the Moroccan Federation of the Chambers of Commerce; Maître Zarrouk, a Casablanca lawyer; M. Jacques Dahan, Secretary-General of the Council of the Jewish Communities; Caid Lahcen Youssi; Maître Rachid Mouline, a Rabat lawyer, representing a group of independent Liberals; Si Hadj Omar Sebti, a former President of the Moroccan Chamber of Commerce at Fez; and Maître Toledano, a Casablanca lawyer. All the above made brief statements to the Press which, however, contained little of interest except that the Sultan reaffirmed to M. Dahan his intention that the Jewish community should form an integral part of the Moroccan people, with governmental responsibilities, and he told Caid Lahcen that he would set up a Council of Representatives to be elected by the tribes for advising him on how to improve conditions in the country districts: it is understood that this Council should also represent certain urban interests. On the next morning His Majesty continued his consultations with other notables beginning with His Excellency Si Abbes Tazi, Pasha of Rabat.

5. On the 26th of November the Sultan received delegations of the Istiqlal Party, of the P.D.I. and of the U.M.T. who brought their answers to His Majesty's questions and all of whom agreed to Si Bekkai being asked to be head of the future

CONFIDENTIAL

Moroccan Government. The Istiqlal memorandum stated that they accepted the principle of participating in a Moroccan Government of national unity. In normal circumstances they would have proposed one of their own number to form a homogeneous Government but since the Sultan had asked for a Government representing all political tendencies, even those whose "representational" qualifications were doubtful, they would fall in with his plan. They would, therefore, not put forward any candidate of their own but would accept Si Bekkai. The party, however, must be adequately represented within the Government both in relation to its great responsibilities and to its importance in the country. The Government's programme must include internal constitutional reforms to make Morocco a democratic State having a constitutional monarchy, an elected National Assembly and a Government responsible to that Assembly. The Government must negotiate with the French about Moroccan independence; the bonds of co-operation with the French and of mutual assistance must be defined, as also the rights of Frenchmen and foreigners living in Morocco. New Conventions must replace the Treaty of Fez. The Cabinet should consist of 24 members, including some Ministers without portfolio to conduct the negotiations: every government department should have a Moroccan Minister at the head of it. In reply to further questions one of their spokesmen said that the party would claim certain specified Ministries and that four Ministers should be responsible for the negotiations with France: he did not seem satisfied with a division of portfolios in the ratio of a third for the Istiqlal, a third for the P.D.I. and a third for the Independents: (the Istiqlal later indicated that they wanted half the portfolios for themselves).

6. The P.D.I. memorandum stated that the régime resulting from the Treaty of Fez must be regarded as having ended and a new régime founded on the independence of Morocco negotiated in its stead. The new régime should safeguard the legitimate interests of France and their new relations with her should be based on equality and on mutual respect of one another's sovereignty. These new relations would in no way alter the spiritual and cultural relations which Morocco had always had with the Arab peoples and the new régime should be a democratic constitutional monarchy. The party would have proposed their own Secretary-General, Si Hassan Ouazzani, for the Presidency of the Council but in the interests of unity they would approve of Si Bekkai. The Government should have 24 members—18 Ministers including the President of the Council and 6 Secretaries of State. The President of the Council, 2 Vice-Presidents and 2 Ministers of State should be responsible for the negotiations with France. As regards the division of portfolios, the party considered that the ratio should be one-third for the P.D.I., one-third for the Istiqlal and one-third for the Independents. The Government's duties would be to manage public affairs and to negotiate the new Conventions with France: the latter should, in particular, define very clearly the attributes of the Resident-General and establish the basis of Moroccan independence in accordance with the principles enshrined in the declaration of Celle-Saint Cloud. The negotiations should be conducted with a view to establishing the territorial unity of the country.

7. Maître Benjelloun, Secretary-General *ad interim* of the P.D.I., said that the Government should, in particular, include in its programme trade union rights for agricultural labourers and the improvement of the standard of living of Moroccan workers.

8. M. Mahjoub ben Seddik, Secretary-General of the U.M.T., presented the reply on behalf of his organisation. It said that since public opinion was comprised within fairly close limits, the formation of a representative government should not present too many difficulties: apart from the U.M.T., which would not directly participate in the Government, there were only two political organisations of consequence, namely the Istiqlal and the P.D.I., to which a few independent personalities might be added. The U.M.T. thought that the Government should be presided over by somebody who had fought for the cause of democracy but they would support Si Bekkai in consideration of his record since August 1953. The organisation considered that the Government's programme should be based on the principles enunciated in the Speech from the Throne and that it should have sufficient authority to impose its will in making public institutions democratic. It should ensure the unity and integrity of the country and also the abolition of the state of siege, the liberation of political prisoners and the grant of democratic liberties.

CONFIDENTIAL

9. Maître Benjelloun (P.D.I.) subsequently held a Press conference in which he stated that his party had asked that the negotiations with France should be held in Paris and not in Rabat, and that the constitutional monarchy in Morocco should be based on a liberal constitution such as that of Belgium. He said that under certain conditions to be determined, provision might be made for Frenchmen and foreigners resident in Morocco to obtain Moroccan nationality with the same rights and duties as Moroccan Moslems and with the same opportunities of participating in the responsibilities of the State: nothing need prevent their becoming Ministers or standing at elections. The army and the police should, moreover, become Moroccan in the future, in as much as they were attributes of sovereignty, and French instructors should be called in to create them. In a statement made to the Press in Madrid Si Allal el Fassi, the Istiqlal leader, said that the most urgent task was to constitute a united front against the reactionaries, colonialists, feudalists, &c.: in the event of failure, the danger of Communism would raise its head in Morocco. In principle his party were prepared to collaborate with the Government provided that its programme conformed with their point of view and led to negotiations for the independence of Morocco. The Treaty of Fez must be annulled, since without full independence the proposed reforms in Morocco would be impossible. The "Parti de l'Unité et de l'Indépendance" (P.U.I.) also sent a delegation to Rabat and stated that they stood by the pact signed at Tangier in 1951 for unity of action between the nationalist parties.

10. Si Bekkai thereupon set about his own consultations with the principal political and trade union leaders and he also received a delegation of the Jewish Communities led by their Secretary-General, M. Jacques Dahan. The latter had held a meeting in Rabat in which they expressed their complete agreement with the policy enunciated in the Speech from the Throne, and their satisfaction with the declarations made by the Sultan and the political leaders of their intention to allow Moroccan Jews to participate in the Government: they urged the members of their communities to take a full part in the national life, and in the political and trade union organisations of their choice.

11. Si Allal el Fassi paid a short visit to Tetuan where he is reported to have said that the Istiqlal would pursue their cause until they achieved the union of the whole of North Africa and that no final decision should be taken regarding their participation in the Government until after their Congress, which opens in Rabat to-day. He said that he would return shortly to Cairo without going either to Tangier or to the French Zone.

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors in Paris, Washington, Madrid and Cairo, to His Excellency the Governor and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) Gibraltar, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet and the Board of Admiralty, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General in Tangier, Tetuan, Tunis and Algiers, to Her Majesty's Consuls in Casablanca and Fez, and to the British Middle East Office in Beirut.

I have, &c.

H. W. A. FREESE-PENNEFATHER.

CHAPTER III.—MOROCCO (SPANISH ZONE)

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JM 1017/1

No. 31

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES IN SPANISH MOROCCO

Mr. Pyman to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received January 10)

(No. 1. Confidential)
Sir,

Tetuan,

January 3, 1955.

With reference to my semi-official letter to the Head of the African Department No. 4/139 of the 22nd of December, 1954, I have the honour to inform you that, according to the local Press, a series of "Dahirs" dated the 29th of December, 1954, create a new Ministry in the Makhzen and appoint new Ministers to two existing Departments. According to the Press, other administrative changes are to follow.

2. The new Ministry thus established is that of Social Affairs, the creation of which has been under discussion for some time past. It is to comprise, in addition to its Minister, a Secretary-General, a Chief Adviser, a Director-General and five Secretaries. Its functions are defined as follows:—

- (a) Protection of children.
- (b) Delinquency. (Health and feeding of prisoners in prisons, preventive institutions, reformatories, and penal camps and their rehabilitation through work.)
- (c) Raising the standard of living.
- (d) Anti-tuberculosis campaign (in co-operation with the Moroccan Anti-Tuberculosis Organisation).
- (e) Disabled persons and pensions.
- (f) Hygiene and public health.

Its functions are by implication confined to Moors and give it no jurisdiction over any existing services dealing with Spaniards. The Ministry's liaison with the departments of the High Commission will be carried out through the Native Affairs Department of the Spanish High Commission. No Minister has been named to head this new Ministry, although it is still expected that the post will be given to Abdul Khaliq Torres, leader of the National Reform Party.

3. The new Ministers appointed to existing Departments are Abdullah Abdessamad Gannun el Hasani who replaces Si el Haj Mohammed ben Tuhani Afailal as Minister of Justice and Si el Aarbi ben el Haj Loh, formerly Secretary-General to the Grand Vizier, who replaces Si Mohammed ben Abdul Kader ben Musa as Minister of Pious Foundations.

4. The essential feature of these changes is that they confer no real power on any Moorish official or Department; thus they do not meet the requirements of the Nationalists which have for the last six months prevented Abdul Khaliq Torres from entering the Makhzen. That the changes seem so far to be acceptable to the National Reform Party is due primarily to the acceptance of office by Abdullah Gannun (a biographical note on whom is enclosed herein). Gannun, although not a member of the National Reform Party, is regarded in Tetuan as a loyal Nationalist and adherent of Mohammed V. In Nationalist eyes his presence in the Government gives the whole series of changes a respectability they would not otherwise possess and should make it possible for Torres to take up the post of Minister for Social Affairs without incurring too much criticism from Nationalist opinion. Another consideration which has helped to render the changes acceptable to the National Reform Party is that the new Ministry for Social Affairs is expected to provide well paid posts for a number of their leading members.

5. Precisely this factor, however, has caused general Moorish opinion to look rather doubtfully on the whole transaction and to regard the creation of the new Ministry simply as a means whereby the Spanish administration can buy off the National Reform Party. The latter's reputation, which had been rising during the

last 15 months has suffered accordingly. The impression among the public that the whole affair is simply a political "job" has not been lessened by the fact that the notorious Spanish puppet, Raisuni, Pasha of Larache, has, by another Dahir of December 29, had his jurisdiction in the west extended at the expense of neighbouring Pashawiyas.

6. The Spaniards for their part are claiming through the Press and radio that they have taken a great step forward in the Moroccanisation of the administration (without stultifying their reforms like the French by "co-sovereignty"), have made a notable gesture of friendship to the Moslem world, have placed the Spanish zone among the most modern and developed States and have proved that Spain fulfils her promises in contrast to the behaviour of France who does not. As stated in paragraph 4 above, the National Reform Party is not at present disposed to criticise what has been done (although it should be noted that the party organ has not as yet endorsed it) and their initial reaction must be regarded as being, from the Spanish point of view, satisfactory. But if, as is likely, Gannun, Torres and their friends find that although nominally in office they can achieve little and their appetite for real power grows, the present apparent harmony between the High Commission and the Nationalists is likely to be of short duration.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier and Rabat, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

L. F. L. PYMAN.

Enclosure to No. 31

Si Abdullah Abdessamad Gannun el Hasani

(No. 12 of the Moslems in Tangier Personalities Report of 1953.)

Born at Fez in 1907 approximately. Has lived mostly in Tangier, but was for a time a Professor of the Karsouin University at Fez. Has written much on literary and theological subjects. Knows Spanish and French well.

A personal friend of Mohammed V. After the latter's deposition he associated himself with his cause and moved to Tetuan where he was appointed Director of the Mulay Hasan Cultural Institute. Although not belonging to any nationalist party, stands well with the Nationalists.

Appointed Minister of Justice in the Spanish zone, December 29, 1954.

JM 1011/1

No. 32

SPANISH MOROCCO: ANNUAL REPORT, 1954

Mr. Pyman to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received January 10)

(No. 2. Confidential)
Sir,

Tetuan,
January 4, 1955.

I have the honour to submit below my political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for 1954 and to attach hereto a chronological record of certain events in and relating to Spanish Morocco during that period.

2. The Spanish authorities retained their absolute mastery over the Spanish Zone throughout the year.

3. They utilised this control mainly to conduct a vigorous propaganda campaign intended to further what appeared to be the two main objects of contemporary Spanish policy in North Africa: to claim equality with France in North Africa and to pose before the Moslem world as the friend of Moroccan Nationalism. The most striking examples were the Tetuan Gathering of January 21 and the subsequent visit to Madrid of a party of Moorish notables, with the supporting Press and wireless propaganda.

4. The assertiveness of Spanish policy did not fail to attract the attention of the outer world, French reactions to the Tetuan Gathering being especially vigorous. Locally, Franco-Spanish tension was reflected at that time in a Press and radio war between the two Protecting Powers which, to the profit of the Nationalists in both zones, was waged with considerable violence; the French and Spanish authorities also adopted obstructive methods about the issue of visas; after some two or three months, however, the extreme manifestations of hostility receded and inter-zonal relations reverted almost to their normal state. In the end the Spanish desire to be accorded greater importance in Moroccan affairs must be considered to have met with a certain success, since early in November a Press report from Paris declared that the French Prime Minister had assured the Spanish Ambassador in Paris that France would take no further steps in Morocco without first ascertaining the Spanish point of view. This could not be considered as constituting recognition of Spain's complete equality with France but it did represent, from the Spanish point of view, an appreciable improvement on the French attitude of August 1953.

5. Since Spanish policy towards the Moslem world required it to be shown that the Nationalist movement was free to operate in the Spanish Zone, the High Commission licensed a considerable degree of activity by the National Reform Party, thus serving simultaneously Spanish policy towards France and towards the Moslem world. The National Reform Party was allowed, among other things, to hold a congress, to organise demonstrations (by prior arrangement with the Spanish authorities), to publish its newspaper *Al Umma* on a daily basis and to help the 500 or 600 Nationalist fugitives from the French Zone, to whom the Spanish authorities had granted asylum, to obtain food, shelter and employment. These activities enabled the party to consolidate its position as the principal focus of Nationalist feeling in the Spanish Zone and contributed to a growth in the strength of that sentiment.

6. Their anti-French policy and their tolerance of certain Nationalist activities enabled the Spaniards to achieve a considerable propaganda success in the world of Moslem Nationalism, but during most of the year they incurred considerable criticism, albeit in private, from many members of the National Reform Party for their conservative and cautious attitude to the grant of autonomy to the Spanish Zone and their reluctance to yield any real powers to the Makhzen or any of its Ministers. The official Spanish view on this problem was defined by the High Commissioner in some detail in October. In a Press interview he made it clear that, before there could be any question of any political autonomy granted, there would have to be a long and slow progress of Moroccanisation of the Administration under the existing Spanish command, during which period the Makhzen would be given no increased authority. Following this policy the Spanish authorities arranged, in the closing days of the year, as part of a general reorganisation of the Makhzen, that a new Ministry (the Ministry of Social Affairs)

should be added to it with an assortment of ill-defined functions, the chief of which were "protection of children," "raising of the standard of living" and "public health." No Minister was named, but it was expected that the post would be taken by Abdul Khaliq Torres, Leader of the National Reform Party. No real responsibility appeared to be given to this new Department. Its establishment did not therefore meet the Nationalist stipulation, which had for some six months held up negotiations for the entry of Torres into the Government, that some degree of real responsibility must be given to the Makhzen. The establishment of this new Department and the probability that Torres would enter the Makhzen as its Minister were, however, rendered palatable to Nationalist opinion partly by the simultaneous appointment as Minister of Justice of Abdullah Gannun, an Independent Nationalist, and partly by the prospect that several leading members of the National Reform Party would receive posts in the new Ministry.

7. The changes were, of course, heralded by the Spanish Press and radio as a great step towards the Moroccanisation of the Administration and as a gesture of friendship towards the Moslem world. Thus, for the Spanish Administration in Morocco, the year ended, as it had opened, on a note of strident self-satisfaction.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier and Rabat, Algiers and Tunis, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

L. F. L. PYMAN.

Enclosure to No. 32

A Chronological Record of Certain Events in and Relating to the Spanish Zone of Morocco in 1954

January 21

Some 400 representatives of the tribes, towns and priesthood of the whole zone, assembled in Tetuan, marched past the Spanish High Commissioner who was accompanied by certain members of the Khalifian family (but not by the Khalifa, who refrained from attending), and by the Makhzen. At this ceremony a Petition, purporting to represent the views of the Moorish population of the zone, was handed to the High Commissioner. The High Commissioner promised to transmit the Petition to the Caudillo.

February 9

The Caudillo received in Madrid a group of Moorish notables, in whose presence the High Commissioner handed him the Tetuan Petition. The Caudillo announced that he accepted the Petition and the homage of the population of the Spanish Zone.

May 6-10

Abdul Khaliq Hassuna, Secretary-General of the Arab League, visited the Spanish Zone.

June 3

The National Reform Party held its annual congress in Tetuan.

August 10

The Aid-al-Kabir passed quietly. The majority of the townspeople obeyed the Nationalist injunction not to make the usual sacrifices.

August 20

The anniversary of the deposition of Mohammed V was marked by a large and peaceful National Reform Party demonstration, arranged in concert with the Spanish authorities; the demonstrators carried portraits of the deposed Sultan through the streets and submitted petitions calling for his restoration to the Khalifa and the High Commissioner. The demonstration was remarkable for the participation of women for the first time, it appears, in local history.

CONFIDENTIAL

November 6

It was reported in the Press that the French Prime Minister had assured the Spanish Ambassador in Paris that France would take no further steps in Morocco without first ascertaining the Spanish point of view.

November 18

The anniversary of the accession of Mohammed V was made an occasion for rejoicing in Tetuan and the main towns of the zone.

December 29

A series of Dahirs was issued adding a new Ministry, that of Social Affairs, to the Makhzen, and replacing the former Ministers of Justice and Pious Foundations by, respectively, Si Abdullah Gannun el Hasani and Si el Aarbi ben el Haj Loh.

CONFIDENTIAL

JM 1013/3

No. 33

**SPANISH MOROCCO : QUARTERLY REPORT,
OCTOBER-DECEMBER 1954**

Mr. Pyman to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received January 10)

(No. 3. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tetuan,
January 5, 1955.*

With reference to my despatch No. 39 (1525/40/15) of the 5th of October, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco, for the quarter ended on the 31st of December, 1954.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Rabat, Algiers and Tunis, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

L. F. L. PYMAN.

Enclosure to No. 33

**POLITICAL REPORT ON THE SPANISH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR
THE QUARTER ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1954**

The High Commissioner once more emphasised the conservative and cautious nature of his Government's attitude to the grant of autonomy to the Moors of the Spanish Zone (compare paragraph 1 of the Tetuan report for the September quarter, 1954). In an interview with the head of the official Spanish news agency, published early in October, General Garcia-Valiño laid it down that there was no question of political autonomy until the Moroccan people could administer their own affairs efficiently and that it was only when the Moroccans had filled up the "cadres" in the administration that autonomy could become a reality.

2. Following this policy the Spanish authorities arranged, in the closing days of the year, as part of a general reorganisation of the Makhzen, that a new Ministry (the Ministry of Social Affairs), should be added to it with an assortment of ill-defined functions, the chief of which were "protection of children," "raising of the standard of living" and "public health." No Minister was named but it was expected that the post would be taken by Abdul Khaliq Torres, leader of the National Reform Party. No real responsibility appeared to be given to this new Department. Its establishment did not therefore meet the Nationalist stipulation, which had, for some six months, held up negotiations for the entry of Torres into the Government, that some degree of real responsibility must be given to the Makhzen. The establishment of this new Department and the probability that Torres would enter the Makhzen as its Minister were, however, rendered palatable to the Nationalist opinion partly by the simultaneous appointment as Minister of Justice of Abdullah Gannun, an independent Nationalist, and partly by the prospect that several leading members of the National Reform Party, would receive posts in the new Ministry. These changes were, of course, claimed by Spanish propaganda as an important step towards the Moroccanisation of the administration.

3. The anniversary of Mohammed V's accession to the throne (November 18) was celebrated in a Bank Holiday spirit in Tetuan and the principal towns of the zone. The Spanish authorities gave the celebrations the mark of their approval by declaring a public holiday and causing a salute to be fired; the National Reform Party took a prominent part in the proceedings. The celebrations showed that during the last 15 months Nationalist sentiment in this zone had increased and with it, the popularity of the deposed Sultan, as the symbol of Moroccan aspiration. The vigour with which the population and the National Reform Party celebrated this anniversary was in striking contrast to the lack of interest which they showed on the anniversary of the Khalifa's accession which had occurred 10 days earlier.

CONFIDENTIAL

4. In the international field Spain's ambition to be accorded greater importance in Moroccan affairs was to some extent gratified early in November by a Press report from Paris declaring that the French Prime Minister had assured the Spanish Ambassador in Paris that France would take no future step in Morocco without first ascertaining the Spanish point of view.

Administration

5. On October 1 the local authorities filed past the High Commissioner on the occasion of the Caudillo's anniversary. On October 24, the High Commissioner's name-day, they all marched past again.

6. On October 20 the High Commissioner opened one of 50 new schools established in rural areas to give primary education to village children.

7. Early in November the High Commissioner summarily expelled from the zone Don Angel Alonso Castrillo, head of the Falange for Spanish North Africa and head of a section in the Department of Economics. His offence was that, having gone to the Melilla district with a visiting Falange leader, he and his companion had harangued troops in barracks and taken a march past without obtaining General Garcia-Valiño's prior permission. Disciplinary action was also taken against several senior military officers of the Melilla command.

8. The High Commissioner visited Madrid for a week at the beginning of December.

9. General of Division Jimenez Jimenez, G.O.C. Melilla, died on October 17. He was succeeded by General of Division Rafael Alvarez Serrano.

10. Brigadier General Don Joaquim Lopez Ticada took up command of the Jebala military command.

11. Colonel Cordoba-Samaniego, for several years Chief Private Secretary to the High Commissioner, reverted to military employment and was succeeded by Colonel Don Roberto Alonso Banito.

12. December 29. Si Abdullah Gannun el Hasani was appointed Minister of Justice in place of Si el Haj Mohammed ben Tuhani Afailil and Si el Aarbi ben el Haj Loh was appointed Minister of Pious Foundations in the place of Si Mohammed ben Abdul Kader ben Musa.

13. The jurisdiction of the Pashawiya of Larache was enlarged at the expense of neighbouring Pashawiyas.

14. The title of the Ministry of Public Instruction in the Makhzen was altered to "Ministry of Education and Culture."

Miscellaneous

15. In December the first number appeared of a new Spanish weekly paper, *Aqui Marruecos*, under the editorship of a notorious anti-French and anti-British journalist called Santamaria Quesada.

16. The Nationalist paper *Al Umma* of December 22 published a statement by a British writer on Morocco, Mr. Ham Landau, criticising the French and praising the Spanish attitude to Mohammed V.

17. Colonel Bermejo López, Delegate for Education, left for Cairo on December 22 to attend the regional conference of Unesco as an observer at the invitation of the Egyptian Government. He was accompanied by the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Public Instruction Si Mohammed ben Alal Aziman.

CONFIDENTIAL

JM 1017/3

No. 34

SPANISH MOROCCO : APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS

Mr. Pyman to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received January 21)(No. 7. Confidential)
Sir,*Tetuan,
January 18, 1955.*

With reference to my despatches Nos. 1 of the 3rd of January and 4 of the 10th of January about the reorganisation of the Makhzen, I have the honour to inform you that the appointment of Si Mohammed ben Hammu Zariuh, leader of the Free Morocco Party (Hizb al Maghrib al Horr), to the post of Minister of Education and Culture, previously held by the Grand Vizier, was announced on January 16. I enclose⁽¹⁾ a biographical note on the new Minister.

2. The appointment of Zariuh is a serious blow to Torres and the National Reform Party, since he is generally regarded by his fellow countrymen as nothing more than a hireling of the Spanish Department of Native Affairs and his party as a creation of that Department. The leadership of the National Reform Party had been trying through articles in *Al Umma*, two specimens of which I enclose⁽¹⁾ to make out that the reorganisation of the Makhzen and in particular the appointment of Torres to ministerial office, was an important step on the road to full autonomy; and they had profited from the reputation of Gannun, the new Minister of Justice, to give colour to their claim that the changes did represent a genuine gain for the Nationalist cause. Zariuh's appointment has destroyed the effect of this propaganda. Its effect on the position of Torres, always a little precarious owing to his reputation for venality, has been particularly damaging; and he has received a number of anonymous letters accusing him of being a traitor to the Nationalist cause. The rank and file of the National Reform Party profess themselves to be disillusioned and disgusted and to hold the view that there is now no political party in the Spanish zone which represents the Nationalist cause. It is not yet clear how Torres will react to the situation other than by replying to his accusers in the columns of *Al Umma* (his editorial of the 17th of January is enclosed)⁽¹⁾ but it is possible that he may find it necessary to press the Spanish authorities to allow his Ministry to bring in certain measures, such as regulations for improved wages and working conditions for Moorish labour, which he can publicise as a genuine service to the Moroccan people.

3. The Spanish authorities for their part continue to express, through the local Spanish Press, their satisfaction with what they have done. This is scarcely surprising since the reorganisation of the Makhzen and the introduction of new men, without the grant of any responsibility, is exactly in line with what the High Commissioner has on various occasions declared Spanish policy to be. It is possible, however, to detect slight signs of disappointment that the outer world, and the Arab League in particular, has not paid greater attention to the recent changes; for instance, the semi-official *Diario de Africa*, in its issue of the 9th of January, complained of "an attitude of silence or intent to ignore on the part of foreign news services."

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier and Rabat, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) at Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

L. F. L. PYMAN.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

JM 1017/6

No. 35

APPOINTMENT OF A NATIONALIST, SI MOHAMMED TANJI, AS SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Pyman to Sir Anthony Eden(No. 9. Confidential)
Sir,*Tetuan,
February 2, 1955.*

In continuation of my despatch No. 7 of the 18th of January, I have the honour to report that the reorganisation of the Makhzen has been taken a step further by the appointment to the newly-created Ministry of Social Affairs of a Secretary-General in the person of Si Mohammed Tanji, a biographical note on whom is enclosed.

2. This is an important development since Tanji is a militant nationalist. When the National Reform Party was suppressed by the Spaniards in 1948 he was punished more severely than the other leaders (paragraph 4 of my despatch No. 45 of the 19th of November, 1954) and has since been regarded by the population as a martyr. In June 1954, he resigned from the National Reform Party as a protest against the passivity of Torres' policy of collaboration with the Spaniards, but later made up his differences with Torres, and in December 1954 became deputy leader of the party. His acceptance of office must therefore be considered, for the moment at least, as a considerable success for the Spaniards and for the High Commissioner personally, the latter having apparently insisted on making the appointment despite the contrary advice of his Native Affairs Department. He may yet regret it if, as is possible, Tanji uses his position in the new Ministry to urge Torres to adopt a more active and aggressive policy than he would otherwise have done.

3. As far as Torres is concerned, the appointment is welcome since it does something to correct the ill effects of his association in the Government with Zariuh and helps him with the militant wing of the National Reform Party. But Tanji may prove a wasting asset to him, unless the new Ministry can find some way of demonstrating both desire and capacity to do something for the population, since Moorish opinion in Tetuan is turning against Tanji as being a mere office-seeker like Torres.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier and Rabat, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) at Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

L. F. L. PYMAN.

Enclosure to No. 35

Si Mohammed Tanji

Born at Tetuan in 1904 approximately. Educated at the Hereccin University at Fez and Al Azhar in Cairo. Is a professor of theology, writes much on religious subjects and preaches in the mosques. A prominent member of the National Reform Party. Was appointed Deputy Leader of the Party in December 1954. In 1956 and again in 1957 when Torres was in charge of the Department of Pious Foundations, Tanji was his chief assistant, resigning when he did on each occasion.

Tanji became very popular as a result of his active opposition to the Spanish administration in Morocco in 1948, when he was imprisoned and heavily fined.

Appointed Secretary-General to the Ministry of Social Affairs in the Spanish Zone, January 17, 1955. (Appointment made public on January 28.)

JM 1013/5

No. 36

**POLITICAL REPORT ON THE SPANISH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR
THE QUARTER ENDED MARCH 31, 1955**

Mr. Pyman to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received April 16)

(No. 18. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tetuan,
April 1, 1955.*

With reference to my despatch No. 3 (19/8/2) of the 5th of January, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on the 31st of March, 1955.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Rabat, Tunis and Algiers, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) at Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

L. F. L. PYMAN.

Enclosure to No. 36

**POLITICAL REPORT ON THE SPANISH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR THE
QUARTER ENDED MARCH 31, 1955**

The reorganisation of the Makhzen, initiated at the end of 1954, was carried further by the appointment of Si Abdul Khaliq Torres, leader of the National Reform Party, as Minister in the newly-created Ministry of Social Affairs, and of Si Mohammed ben Hammu Zariuh as Minister of Education and Culture. The presentation of diplomas of office to these and other new Ministers by the Khalifa, in the presence of the Spanish High Commissioner, was the main feature of the ceremonies which were held to celebrate the anniversary of the Tetuan Gathering of January 21, 1954. Subsequently the post of Secretary-General in the Ministry of Social Affairs was given to Si Mohammed Tanji, deputy leader of the National Reform Party.

2. After their appointment little was heard of the new Ministers, except that Zariuh was reported to have complained to the Spanish Delegate for Education and Culture that the latter did not keep him sufficiently informed of what was going on (to the considerable benefit of Zariuh's reputation with the nationalists), and that Torres was involved in a dispute with the Delegate for Native Affairs as to who should appoint the officials of his Ministry; in the end each appointed half. Torres, however, gave it to be understood that he was working, with Spanish assistance, on the studies preparatory to the formulation of a scheme for the organisation of Moorish trade unions, and that he would be taking action in this matter before long. The party leaders were also hopeful that the party would before long be given another portfolio—that of Agriculture or of Finance.

3. The Spanish Press continued to magnify the importance of the Makhzen changes; while the organ of the National Reform Party, *Al Umma*, published several articles justifying the acceptance of office by Torres. But in the party itself, and among Moorish opinion generally, there were considerable misgivings at the decision of the party leaders to take office and a marked tendency to disparage them as mere place-seekers. These doubts were fanned by a pamphlet, which circulated clandestinely in Tetuan, based on an article in the Egyptian Press by Mekki Nasiri, an old rival of Torres, criticising his acceptance of office as a betrayal of the Agreement entered into at Tangier in April 1951 by the principal nationalist leaders. But none of his critics made any effective attempt to exploit this distrust of Torres and there was no sign that any rival politician was likely to emerge as an alternative leader of the local nationalists. Torres was helped by the fact that the Istiqlal, despite rumours that they had censured him for taking office, made no serious propaganda against him.

CONFIDENTIAL

4. Two anniversaries of interest to the nationalists fell during the quarter. The first was that of the foundation of the Arab League; it was celebrated with less show than usual, the local nationalists being distressed that the League should have fallen on evil days. The second was that of the Treaty of Fez of March 30, 1912; this anniversary is always treated by the local nationalists as a day of mourning, and they were able to mark the occasion this year by securing the partial closing of Moorish shops and private schools. Torres profited from a service at the principal mosque at which prayers were offered for the members of the "Moroccan Resistance Movement," to make an improvised speech in which he drew the routine comparison between conditions in the Spanish and French Zones.

5. Franco-Spanish relations were bad, except for a short period in January during which a Spanish delegation visited Rabat and signed the annual renewal of the inter-zonal trade Agreement. The Tetuan Press and radio contributed considerably to this state of affairs, the Arabic Press (on which the Arabic broadcasts of Radio Tetuan are based) maintaining throughout the quarter a flow of anti-French propaganda and the Spanish Press of the Zone also being, except for one brief lull, aggressively anti-French. In addition there were reports from the French side of the interception of arms and other equipment passing from the Spanish Zone to the French Zone, and signs that the visa "war" was reviving.

Administration

6. The Spanish High Commissioner visited the eastern region of the Spanish Zone and Melilla from March 22 to 26. This visit coincided with the announcement in Madrid that the Council of Ministers had approved the conclusion of the contracts for the construction of the Kalila dam, part of the joint Franco-Spanish hydro-electric scheme for the Muluya river, and the raising of a loan of 111 million pesetas to pay for the work.

7. A "Dahir" was published promulgating new Regulations for the suppression of tobacco and hemp smuggling.

8. Two "Dahirs" were published allotting family allowances to certain civil and military employees of the Makhzen.

9. The Delegation of Economic Affairs announced in the Press that the grant of an import licence to an importer was no guarantee that foreign exchange would be forthcoming and that it was only of Swiss and Italian currencies that supplies were adequate.

10. Don Rafael Alvarez Claro, Sub-Delegate for Economic Affairs, Commerce and Industry, was promoted to Delegate (there had been no Delegate for some years).

11. In March, Don Ricardo Muñiz y Berdugo, Head of the Diplomatic Cabinet of the High Commission since May 1954, was transferred to the Spanish Embassy in Rio de Janeiro and was replaced by Don Eduardo Gasset y Diez de Ulzurrun, Conde de Peñarrubias. Don Eduardo Ortega, Assistant Head of the Diplomatic Cabinet since May 1954, was transferred to Madrid in February.

12. The Spanish Consul-General at Rabat visited Tetuan and was received by the High Commissioner on March 31.

Miscellaneous

13. The local Spanish Press reported prominently that the ship bringing the new United States Ambassador to Spain had been diverted from Gibraltar to Algeciras.

14. The Pakistani Ambassador in Madrid visited Tetuan from January 18 to 22.

15. Mr. Cornelius Van Engert, a retired member of the United States Foreign Service and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Friends of the Middle East, visited Tetuan from February 20 to 22.

CONFIDENTIAL

JM 1013/7

No. 37

POLITICAL REPORT ON THE SPANISH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR THE QUARTER ENDED JUNE 30, 1955

Mr. Pyman to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 7)

(No. 29. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tetuan,
July 1, 1955*

With reference to my despatch No. 18 (545/8/3) of the 1st of April, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on the 30th of June, 1955.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Rabat, Tunis and Algiers, to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, to his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence) at Gibraltar.

I have, &c.,

L. F. L. PYMAN.

Enclosure to No. 37

POLITICAL REPORT ON THE SPANISH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR THE QUARTER ENDED JUNE 30, 1955

The new Ministers of the Makhzen provided little outward evidence of activity and Si Abdul Khaliq Torres did not produce his scheme for the organisation of Moorish trade unions (see paragraph 2 of the political report for the March quarter, 1955). The expected additional Ministry for the National Reform Party did not materialise and the vacant administrative posts (Secretary-General to the Grand Vizier and Director-General of the Ministry of Social Affairs) went to non-Nationalists.

2. Among the members of the National Reform Party Torres incurred some criticism, fanned by radio attacks on him from Cairo and Damascus, for the passive nature of his collaboration with the Spaniards and, in order to improve his position, he was driven to various devices, such as agitating for the abolition of the veil and inventing a new patriotic anniversary, June 18, Day of the Moroccan Resistance Movement. The majority of the party, however, did not seem to be very deeply moved against Torres and, at their Congress at the end of May marking the eighteenth anniversary of the party's foundation, made no difficulty about passing a resolution approving collaboration with the Spanish authorities; the resolution reaffirmed at the same time that the party's ultimate aim for the Spanish Zone remained "full autonomy."

3. In fact most of the local Nationalists, other than those actually in office, were less concerned with the affairs of the Spanish Zone than with the situation in French Morocco, as was shown by the resolutions passed at the National Reform Party's Congress; the great majority of these were concerned not with the specific problems of the Spanish Zone but with the Nationalist campaign against France and with general Moroccan questions, declarations of loyalty to Mohammed V taking pride of place. Indeed, the only sign of effervescence in local affairs was provided by the Moorish students of the Tetuan technical college who demonstrated against the arrest of a fellow-student for writing and seeking to publish an article criticising the local educational system.

4. The Tetuan organ of the Nationalists maintained a steady flow of anti-French propaganda, as, with occasional lulls, did the Spanish Press of Tetuan. The Tetuan radio station, enlarged in power by the installation of a new transmitter, followed much the same course as the Spanish Press. Towards the end of the

CONFIDENTIAL

quarter signs of French reaction were audible in the form of several broadcasts from Rabat and Paris reporting that relations between the High Commissioner and the Khalifa were exceptionally bad, which drew an indignant denial from the Tetuan Radio (in point of fact relations between the High Commissioner and the Khalifa are chronically poor, the degree of tension fluctuating according to circumstances).

5. The appointment of a new Resident-General in Rabat caused much anxious thought in Tetuan as to the future course of events in the French Zone and, combined with the return of General García-Valiño after a month in Madrid, led to renewed speculation as to the possibility that he might soon be leaving Tetuan. His statement to the Press on the occasion of his return included the far from lucid phrase: "Spain will not make a deal with any nation over anything affecting the sovereignty of Morocco," which, however, served for the time being to allay the anxiety of the local Nationalists lest the Spanish Government should make an agreement with France at the expense of the Nationalist cause.

Administrative

6. The completion of the High Commissioner's fourth year of office was celebrated on 30th April.

7. On 13th May he went to Beni Aros to unveil a memorial to the late Lieut.-Colonel Santiago Gonzalez Tablos, killed in action against the Moors on 13th May, 1922.

8. The High Commissioner visited Madrid from 15th May to 19th June.

9. Si Abdeslam Ben Ahmed Tamsamani, of Riffi origin, was appointed Secretary-General in the Grand Vizirate.

10. Si Mohammed Ben El Wafi Amrani, formerly in charge of the social welfare section of the Spanish Department of Native Affairs, was appointed Director-General of the Makhzen Ministry of Social Affairs.

Miscellaneous.

11. The wedding of the youngest brother of the Khalifa, Muley Ahmed, to Lalla Hasaniya, of the Alawi family, took place in Tetuan in April.

12. General Franco's daughter, the Marquesa de Villerde, arrived in Tetuan during the ceremonies, but there had apparently been a muddle over the arrangements for her reception and she departed rather hurriedly leaving the various local authorities concerned to blame each other for the contretemps.

13. The annual congress of the Press Associations of Spain was opened in Tetuan on 27th June. It was the occasion of numerous speeches extolling Spanish-Moroccan brotherhood.

14. The Tetuan Spanish Press reported prominently the "Spanish-Gibraltar" exhibition held in Madrid in June. There was nothing in the Nationalist Press about Gibraltar.

15. The Egyptian Military Attaché in Madrid visited Tetuan on 22nd June. He was received by the High Commissioner.

16. M. Marcel Bleuzet succeeded M. Michel Fontaine as French Consul-General in Tetuan.

CONFIDENTIAL

51515**

JM 1013/11

No. 38

**POLITICAL REPORT ON THE SPANISH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR
THE QUARTER ENDED 30th SEPTEMBER, 1955**

Mr. Pyman to Mr. Macmillan. (Received October 15)

(No. 51. Confidential)
Sir,

Tetuan,
October 4, 1955.

With reference to my despatch No. 29 (1143/8/4) of July 1, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my political report on the Spanish Zone of Morocco for the quarter ended on the 30th of September, 1955.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Madrid, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tangier, Rabat, Tunis and Algiers, the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean and Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

L. F. L. PYMAN.

Enclosure to No. 38

**POLITICAL REPORT ON THE SPANISH ZONE OF MOROCCO FOR THE
QUARTER ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1955**

Expectation of vital developments in the French Zone provided the main political interest for Spaniards and Moors alike. From the beginning of the Aix-les-Bains conference onwards the Spaniards gave the impression that they did not know quite what attitude to adopt towards the successive developments, and the Spanish High Commissioner, who in his Aid-el-Kebir address to the Khalifa on August 4 had reiterated Spain's support of Mohammed V, refrained from making any statements on policy. His Government, in the last days of the quarter, gave some indication of its views when it addressed a Note to the French Government stressing, according to the Tetuan Press, that if on the restoration of legality in the French Zone there were any question of introducing modifications in the present protectorate arrangements, which would imply a revision of the treaties in force, Spain would have to be present from the first moment at the negotiations, which would thus be Hispano-Franco-Moroccan.

2. The National Reform Party for its part continued violently to attack France and in doing so succeeded in disseminating a considerable volume of propaganda in favour of the liberation from foreign control of the whole of Morocco; notable examples were the speech delivered by Torres on August 20 in which he pressed for the return of Mohammed V and the recognition of Moroccan independence, the party manifesto published on September 8 calling for, among other things, "the recognition of the complete sovereignty of Morocco," and an article by Torres in *Al Umma* of September 12, stressing the theme of Moroccan sovereignty and urging that an international conference be called to deal with the Moroccan question.

3. The domestic affairs of the zone were the subject of an important section of the High Commissioner's Aid-el-Kebir speech on August 4. He declared that Spain had tried generally to develop not only the Moroccan people's material standard of life but, more important, everything tending to increase their ability to take part in the conduct of their own affairs; he went on to hint that a decentralisation of the administration in the hands of the Moroccans through Rural Councils (Jema'as) might take place and that one day the Spanish Departments (Delegaciones) might cease to be executive and become merely advisory. This was the first time that an authoritative Spanish spokesman had referred to the possibility that the Spanish Departments might eventually cease to run the zone, but García-Valiño spoiled his effect by his qualifying remarks stressing the need for

CONFIDENTIAL

going slowly: "We go slowly because we believe that to hurry on the various stages without first laying the foundation of true competence on which to build would lead us to the same or worse consequences than would a stagnant and perilous immobility." In any case Moorish opinion needed no reminder that it is Spanish policy to proceed slowly, the continued impotence of the Makhzan, including Torres' much advertised Ministry of Social Affairs, being only too apparent, and the High Commissioner's hints about future developments aroused no interest.

4. An example of the reluctance of the Spanish authorities to give any new authority to the Makhzan was afforded by the handling of the question of labour relations: a Dahir published on July 30 established, in the offices of the five Regional Governors, Labour Advisers empowered to supervise the execution of the labour laws, punish infractions and inform Moroccan labour of its rights, but the Dahir was entrusted to the (Spanish) Native Affairs Department for execution and the Advisers were made answerable to the (Spanish) Delegate-General. The Makhzan Minister of Social Affairs, who is known to be interesting himself particularly in labour matters, was left entirely out of account. The same reluctance to make any substantial concessions became apparent in the matter of a Dahir published on August 19 declaring that certain posts in the Administration might be held by Moroccans. The preamble of the Dahir referred to "the desirability of earmarking for Moroccan personnel as many posts as possible." The operative article of the Dahir stated that any post on the Makhzan budget might be held by Moroccans, if properly qualified, except such posts as, directly or indirectly, comprised functions of control (funciones interventoras) or were allotted to officials seconded from the technical cadres of the Protecting Nation. In appearance the field thus declared open to Moroccans was wide, the Spanish Departments (Delegaciones) as well as the Makhzan Ministries being carried on the Makhzan budget. In practice, however, most of the posts on the administrative side of the Spanish Departments having "functions of control" or being held by men seconded from the appropriate services in Spain, the posts available for Moroccans were found to be confined to manual jobs and a handful of unimportant clerical posts. The reactions of the local Nationalists were in their newspaper to ignore the Dahir and in private to decry it as a piece of hollow Spanish propaganda intended to impress Egypt and the Arab League. The local Nationalists also greeted with contempt a Dahir dated August 23 setting up an elaborate system of joint Hispano-Moroccan Councils for the supervision of education, apparently intended to provide an administrative framework for the extension of rural education.

5. An interesting development in the zone was a surge of spontaneous Nationalist activity independent of the Spanish authorities or the leadership of the National Reform Party. The first example occurred in the extension to Tetuan of the movement for the Friday closing of shops. Early in July a number of young men, belonging to the militant section of the National Reform Party but not apparently under orders from the party leaders, forced all Moorish shopkeepers to shut their shops on Fridays and succeeded in making this the established rule; the Spanish authorities had to acquiesce in the position, contenting themselves with preventing hooliganism and providing police protection for korb-traders and Jewish shopkeepers who wished to remain open on Fridays. The second example occurred at Alcazarquivir on August 20. On that day the Spanish authorities were prepared to allow a demonstration only in Tetuan; nevertheless, a spontaneous demonstration did take place in Alcazarquivir and the police had to take action to disperse the crowd; the Spanish authorities were seriously worried by this affair and, after an investigation, suspended the Basha of Alcazarquivir and placed the district temporarily under the control of Raisuni, Basha of Larache, celebrated for his ferocity in repression.

Administration

6. On September 20 the High Commissioner unveiled at Dar Riffien a memorial to General Millan Astray commemorating the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Legion.

7. At the end of September he opened a new block of flats in Tetuan intended for the use of Government officials.

8. In August Brigadier-General Ramon Gotarredona succeeded Brigadier-General Zanon as Chief of the Staff of the Army of Morocco.

CONFIDENTIAL

Miscellaneous

9. The anti-French and anti-British weekly paper *Aqui Marruecos* ceased publication in July. Its disappearance was apparently due not to a policy decision by the authorities but to the feeling of the editor that he was not making enough money out of it.

10. The Egyptian Ambassador in Madrid visited Tetuan in the early days of August and the Iraqi in mid-September.

11. *Al Umma* of September 30 had an editorial supporting the decision of the Egyptian Government to obtain arms from the Soviet group, arguing that Egypt needed these arms as a means of defence against Israel, "for whose interests the Western Powers seem excessively zealous."

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JM 1012/5

No. 39

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN THE SPANISH ZONE OF MOROCCO

Mr. Pyman to Mr. Macmillan. (Received September 29)

(No. 45. Confidential) Tetuan,
Sir, September 26, 1955.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a revised report on leading personalities in the Spanish Zone of Morocco.

I have, &c.

L. F. L. PYMAN.

Index

MOROCCAN

1. His Highness the Khalifa, Shereef Mulai al Hasan.
2. Abrisha.
3. Afailal.
4. Al 'Arosi.
5. Al Haddad.
6. Al Hajj.
7. Al Haskuri.
8. Al Morir.
9. Ash-Ash.
10. Baeza.
11. Benabud. Dr. Ahmad.
12. Benabud. Mohammad.
13. Benabud. Mohammad ben Mohammad. Ben al Bashir: see No. 7.
14. Benani. AbdusSalam.
15. Benani. Dris. Ben al Baraka: see No. 4.
16. Benmaman.
17. Ben Musa.
18. Ben 'Omar.
19. Ben Salah.
20. Bennuna. Dris.
21. Bennuna. Mehdi.
22. Bennuna. Tayyib.
23. Daoud.
24. Erzini. AbdusSalam.
25. Erzini. Mohammad.
26. Fasi.
27. Gannun.
28. Khatib.
29. Lalla Fatma.
30. Luh.
31. Mellali.
32. Meslohi.
33. Mesmudi.
34. Mulai Ahmed.
35. Mulai Arafa.
36. Mulai Ismail.
37. Mulai al Mahdi.
38. Mulai Mohammad ben al Hasan.
39. Mulai Mohammad ben al Mahdi.
40. Qaddawi.
41. Raisuni. Khalid.
42. Raisuni. Bil Mekki.
43. Skirej.
44. Tanji.
45. Temsamani.
46. Tenana.

47. Torres.
48. Uchen.
49. Um Kultum.
50. Yaish.
51. Zariuh.

SPANISH

101. Achutegui.
102. Alvarez Claro.
103. Alvarez Rementeria.
104. Aracama Gorosabel.
105. Aragoncillo Sevilla.
106. Bellod.
107. Benet.
108. Bermejo y Gomez.
109. Bermejo y Lopez.
110. Carvajal Arrieta.
111. Casquero Medina.
112. Cuevas Fernandez.
113. Delgado Fernandez.
114. Dominguez Fernandez.
115. Gallego Suarez Somonte.
116. Garcia-Cuencas.
117. Garcia-Figueras.
118. Garcia-Sañudo.
119. Garcia-Valiño y Marcén.
120. Gasset y Diez de Ulzurrun.
121. Gomendio Ochoa.
122. Gomez Arroyo.
123. Gotarredona.
124. Herrero Muñoz.
125. Hinojosa.
126. Limia Perez.
127. Lord O'Lawlor.
128. Lopez Lopez.
129. Lopez Tienda.
130. Manso.
131. Mendizabal.
132. Perez del Rio.
133. Rivas Gonzalez.
134. Rodriguez Ruiz.
135. Roviralt Matallana.
136. Salazar.
137. Santamaria Quesada.
138. Sentchordi.
139. Serrano.
140. Torres Martinez.
141. Trujillo Machacón.

OBITUARY

Bertuchi, Mariano (No. 111 in 1952 report).
Perez Polo, Martin (No. 137 in 1952 report).

MOROCCAN

1. Shereef Mulai al Hasan ben Mulai al Mahdi ben Mulai Ismail
Sultan's Khalifa or Caliph.
Born 1909 of a negress slave or concubine, but of direct Shereefian, i.e., Mohammedan, descent from the Prophet's daughter and grandson of a former

Sultan of Morocco. Is the second son of the first Spanish-zone Khalifa, who died in 1923. Was selected by the Spanish Government as the best of a poor lot to succeed his father, appointed by the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed V, who is his younger, second cousin, and installed as Khalifa, 11th November, 1925. Has three sons (q.v.), born of concubines. Married, 1949, Princess Lalla Fatma, daughter of former Sultan Mulai "Abdul" Aziz, by whom he has a daughter (q.v.). Celebrated silver jubilee, 1950. Swarthy. Stands about 5 ft. 10 in., weighs about 16 stone.

Mulai Hasan was brought up to be a puppet ruler, was taught so little as to lack the elements of education and has grown up apart from and ignorant of his fellow men. As a Spanish tool, he is generally obedient, shows no initiative and has expensive tastes which have to be satisfied because, like the Sultan, he can if he wishes withhold his signature from decrees. Were he not a Shereef he would be almost completely disregarded by his fellow-countrymen as a Khalifa. The only political respect and following on which he can count are those of his palace and entourage. Is held in contempt by the Nationalists. Since the deposition of Mohammed V his principal concern has been to avoid, as far as possible, giving offence either to the deposed Sultan or to ben Arafat and to avoid positive actions which might identify him personally with one faction or the other; thus he kept away, on grounds of illness, from the Tetuan Gathering of January 1954.

2. Si Abdul Wahid Abrisha

Born about 1902, of good family, and brought up in the house of the late Si Abdul Qadar Erzini, the leading British-protected Moor in the zone (q.v.). Was made Khalifa's Hajib or Chamberlain in 1932. Lacks any real education, but is well-liked and suited to his almost purely social duties of organising the entertaining.

3. Si Mohammad ben Tuhani Afailal

Born about 1881, a native of Tetuan and son of one of the leading families. Educated at the Qaraween University at Fez, he is completely lacking in any modern ideas or culture. Vizir for Islamic Justice, 1933-54; appointed to the Khalifan Privy Council, 1954. A man of private means, he had when in office the reputation of not accepting bribes.

4. Mohammad ben Baraka al 'Arosi

Born in the Beni 'Aros tribeland about 1905. Learnt a little of the Koran as a child and a little Spanish as a youth frequenting the Spanish Control, which gave him the position of "interpreter." When Major Trujillo was removed from that Control and put in charge of the Makhzan Income Department in Tetuan, Baraka followed and took such good advantage of his position that he is to-day believed to be very rich, having used Makhzan money to buy land and sell it to the Makhzan for personal profit at prices officially fixed by himself. He has invested his wealth largely in land in Tangier. Rais al Isteenaf Makhzani or President of the Administrative Court of Appeal from 1950 until summer 1954, when he was dismissed at the instance of the Spanish High Commission because he continually stirred up trouble between the Khalifa, with whom he was on very good terms, and the Spanish Administration.

5. Si Ahmad ben Abdul Karim al Haddad

Born about 1893, of a middle-class family, and began his ascent as tutor to the Khalifa. Of a mediocre education and culture, except in religious matters. Has no presence, no character and little intelligence, but is modest and courteous, as well as superficial in his dealings. Was clerk in

the Grand Vizir's office under ben 'Azuz and, when the latter's successor, Ahmad al Ganmia, died in 1943, was placed in charge of the Grand Vizirate, itself a small, impotent office, maintained by the Protecting Power like the rest of the native Government or Makhzan, *pour la forme*. He was made Grand Vizir in 1950.

Thoroughly subservient to the Spanish High Commission, he has received his reward in a comfortable material life and the periodic award of small financial favours.

He was used by the High Commission to present the Tetuan Petition at the gathering of January 21, 1954, and subsequently to present it to the Caudillo in Madrid in February 1954.

6. Si AbdesSalam al Hajj

Born about 1909. Son of Mohammad al Hajj, who was regent during the minority of the present Khalifa. Little education. Well-to-do. Member of the National Reform Party and a close personal friend of Torres (q.v.).

7. Si Ahmed ben al Bashir al Haskuri

Born about 1909, of a negress connected with the Khalifa's mother, who brought him up with the Khalifa after his mother's death. Dismissed from the household for some scandal, he lived in penury until given a job in the Basha's office in 1933. In 1938 was appointed Khalifa's Rais ad-Diwan or Comptroller of the Household. Has used this position to amass, partly by corrupt and partly by legitimate means, considerable wealth, some of which he shares with his master. Of evil moral reputation, he is also disliked and distrusted by his compatriots outside the palace. Is a Spanish tool and has at various times received appropriate rewards; at present (August 1955) is regarded with some suspicion by the High Commission owing to inveterate intriguing, which is though to have extended as far afield as el Glaoui.

8. Al Faqih Mohammad al Morir

Born about 1885, a native of Tetuan and son of a leading family. Studied Islamic law and religion at the Qaraween University, Fez, and became first an 'Adil or judicial notary and then, when Spanish administration began, a clerk. Rose to be Qadhi or Judge of Tetuan during the Rif War and was made President of the Islamic Court of Appeal in 1934.

A man of lively intelligence and, through study, of surprisingly many-sided culture, owner also of one of the best Arabic libraries in all Morocco, Al Morir is a difficult man and has an excessive pride which deprives him of popular sympathy. Although as submissive as the rest of the Makhzan to Spanish wishes, he has not accepted any of the High Commission's illicit financial favours and lives as he always has, modestly.

9. Si M'Hammad Ash-Ash

Born about 1907. Uneducated, but picked up enough Spanish to become an interpreter to a local Spanish Controller and then became friendly with the zone's secretary-general, Colonel Capaz, who in 1935 gave him charge of the administration of the Babus or Pious Foundations, a post which he held until 1938. He so used the opportunities of handling the funds to enrich himself that a scandal ensued and he had to resign, but he is now one of the wealthiest Moors of the zone.

10. Si Mohammad Bulaish Baeza

Born about 1907. Became active in the meat trade, somehow lifted himself out of the ruck and is now very rich. Hold's a lawyer's diploma given in Madrid in 1944 under shady circumstances. Owns

and directs the bi-lingual daily *El Dia/An Nahar* and the leading Tetuan hotel and has a hand in most local big business. He has powerful friends on all sides, helping even the former High Commissioner, General Beigbeder.

Married to a Spanish woman who was notoriously anti-British during the war.

Since he can be relied on to take a pro-Spanish line he is produced by the Spaniards at Press Conventions and other suitable occasions as a prime example of Hispano-Moroccan brotherhood.

His paper is bitterly anti-French, because of his own convictions as well as, since August 1953, of the High Commission's instructions.

11. Dr. Ahmad Benabud

Born about 1915, third son of the late British-protected person, Si Hamed Benabud, a brother of No. 12. Studied for three years at the Tetuan Free Institute and was sent by his father in 1931 to the Nablus "An-Niyah" School in Palestine, where he matriculated. Went on, still at his father's expense, to study medicine in Cairo, where he qualified and, in 1951, completed his training with two years' practice at the Kasr El Aini Hospital. Studied at the Cincinnati Hospital, United States, for a two-years' post-graduate course and has now returned to Tetuan and set up in practice.

Speaks very good English and is a likeable man. Has strong Nationalist sympathies. Is Tetuan correspondent of "The American Friends of the Middle East" and maintains close touch with the United States Legation in Tangier.

12. Si Mohammad Benabud

Born about 1910, eldest son of the late British-protected person, Si Hamed Benabud. A successful and none too scrupulous merchant. Ambitious and keen on money. Was offered the post of Minister of Finance in the Makhzan in the reshuffle of December 1954, but refused it as he thought that at present he could make more money outside.

13. Si Mohammad ben Mohammad Benabud

Born in Mazagan about 1900. Attended only a Koranic school. Was a draper until 1946, when he was selected by a former Governor as President of the Tetuan Municipal Council.

Has very little power or responsibility, since the municipality is in effect run by the Spanish "Interventor Municipal," but is always pushed forward by the Spaniards as a Moorish representative on ceremonial occasions.

No relation to Nos. 11 and 12.

14. Si AbdusSalam Benani

Son of No. 15. Born in Fez about 1921. Educated at the Tetuan Free Institute, whence he went to Egypt in 1938 to study law. Returned qualified, but was not allowed to practise because of Spanish lawyers' opposition on the grounds that his diploma was neither Spanish nor of a country signatory to the Act of Algeciras. Now practising in Tangier. Member of the National Reform Party.

15. Haj Dris Benani

Born in Fez about 1887 of a poor but distinguished family. Received a rudimentary education at the Qaraween University and has served all his adult life in Customs, of which he was appointed head in 1935, except for a brief spell in 1934 as Basha of Arzila. Speaks no foreign language but has always obeyed Spanish orders and is thereby enabled to live in comfort and idleness.

50091

16. Benmaman, Jacob

Moroccan Jew, born in Tetuan 1900. Married, has no children. Honorary Portuguese Vice-Consul. Past-president of the Jewish community. Self-important.

17. Si Mohammad ben Abdul Qader ben Musa

Born about 1873, a native of Marrakesh, but lived long in Larache. Religiously educated and has no modern veneer. Is a close friend of the Khalifa, through whom he rose from obscurity to be Vizir for Habus or Pious Foundations in 1937.

Relinquished this post in December 1954 and was appointed to the Khalifa's Privy Council.

Ben Musa is one of the leading poets of his place and day and a subtle writer of the old school. Of a mottled mousey appearance he also is reputed to have done himself well, speculating with the capital of the innumerable religious legacies which have been made by the pious for all sorts of beneficent objects in addition to the feeding of the needy.

18. Dr. Ahmed ben 'Omar

Born about 1915. Studied in Melilla whence he went as a scholarship student to Madrid, where he obtained a medical degree in 1940. On his return to Morocco as a fully qualified doctor he had the same experience as Skirej (q.v.) with whom he now shares consulting rooms. Specialises in consumptive diseases and is highly regarded by his fellow countrymen.

19. Al Yazid ben Tayyib ben Salah

Born about 1892 in Beni Erzini of a leading Ghomari family. Studied at the Qaraween University of Fez. After serving under Abdul Karim and helping him to force the disorderly Spanish retreat of 1921 to Sheshawen, he was bribed by the Spaniards to rise against the Rifian leader and eventually rewarded, first with the Qaidship of the tribes and in 1932 with the Bashaship of Sheshawen. He was promoted to be Governor (Basha) of Tetuan in 1951.

Ben Salah is the best-read and most cultivated of the zone's tribal leaders. His well-filled library is said to contain unpublished Andalusian manuscripts of considerable value. His business acumen is also great and he enriches himself by the various means which his office affords. Was one of the Moorish Commission which took the Tetuan Petition to the Caudillo in Madrid in February 1954.

20. Si Dris Benna

Born about 1925. Brother of No. 21 and No. 22. Educated at the Tetuan Free Institute and went to Madrid with a scholarship to study in the Catholic Institute of Arts and Industries, reputedly the best engineering course in Spain. Finished brilliantly in 1948, but on his return to Morocco was palmed off with the small Elementary Technical Institute where he is still principal and doing good work training Moroccans as electricians, mechanics and so on. In 1953 was offered by the British Council facilities for advanced study in the United Kingdom, but was not allowed by the Spanish authorities to accept the offer; he was, however, allowed to go to the United States for a short course. Has strong nationalist sympathies and is a member of the National Reform Party, but is rather cautious as his job depends on Spanish goodwill.

21. Si Mehdi ben Haj AbdusSalam Benna

Born about 1916, second brother of No. 22. After an education in Palestine returned to Tetuan but went off again to Egypt, where he became the editor of a Cairo newspaper, *Az-Zaman*. On his return home went into business but, as a keen nationalist, preferred politics and was sent in 1947 by the National Reform Party to New York to establish

contact with United States public opinion on the Moroccan problem. He lectured widely and wrote articles, and became known to the United Nations Organisation. Returned to Tangier shortly before Torres (q.v.) and with him was forbidden re-entry to the Spanish Zone and lived an exile's life until able to return, under the Valiño régime, in 1952. Was able to make good money, however, with the North American Construction Company, in French Morocco until forced by the French to leave.

Since May 1954 editor of the National Reform Party organ, *Al Umma*. Appointed Tetuan sub-agent (under Madrid) of the United Press. Shares in the commercial profits of his brother Tayyib (q.v.) and devotes some of the money to the nationalist cause.

Speaks English well, French and Spanish. An intelligent and plausible man who is well liked by his fellow countrymen both within the National Reform Party and outside it. Tubercular.

22. Si Tayyib ben Haj AbdusSalam Bennuna

Born about 1909 of a large and respected Tetuan family. After elementary Koranic studies, was sent by his father to "An-Nayah" school at Nabius in Palestine and thence to the American College at Istanbul, but on his father's death in 1934 had to leave his studies incomplete.

For long served as unpaid teacher in the Free Institute and on the death of the first secretary-general of the National Reform Party succeeded him and has devoted his time and talents, which are above the average, to the Nationalist cause, plus a little business. In 1937 he accompanied Torres (q.v.) to Cairo, but not in 1947, remaining behind to lead the party, of which in 1938 he had been appointed secretary-general, and prepare a triumphant reception on his leader's return. Suffered with him, as a result, exile in Tangier, from which he returned in 1952. While in Tangier, visited the French Zone and was instrumental in securing agreement between the Istiqlal and his party.

With his brothers owns a general store in Tetuan for the supplying of which the Spanish authorities give him import licences; has become rich by selling goods on hire purchase at usurious rates of interest.

In December 1953 was arrested by the Spanish authorities for writing letters to people outside the zone allegedly defamatory to the High Commissioner and the Khalifa, detained without trial for some three months, then sentenced to ten years' banishment and almost immediately pardoned.

Though an ardent nationalist and as such respected in the National Reform Party he has lost popularity, partly because he is considered over-keen on Torres' policy of collaboration with the Spaniards and partly because of his business and personal habits.

23. Si Mohammad Daoud

Born about 1901. Studied at the Qaraween University of Fez, where he completed learning the Koran by heart. Early showed Nationalist leanings and in 1925 helped found the first modern free school in Morocco. In 1923 he founded the periodical, *As-Salaam, The Peace*, and shortly afterwards the purely Moorish printing company, "Al Mahdiya." In 1934 he prepared the first Moroccan calendar, which was prohibited under the Spanish Republican régime. Has visited all the Arab countries of the Middle East and met many leading men but has never actually joined a political party.

Was given the directorship of the Middle East and met many leading men but has never actually joined a political party.

Was given the directorship of Moorish education in 1942 but made no mark except in leaving it when, in 1947, he issued a manifesto, exposing the

Spanish administration's conduct of native education. This was published by the National Reform Party, the leader of which had been his pupil.

Since giving up his official post has engaged in historical writing and lecturing. Strongly nationalist in sentiment.

24. Si AbdusSalam Erzini

Born about 1884, of a leading and highly respected Tetuan family with distant origins in the Ghomara mountain tribe of Beni Erzini.

Inherited the status of a British-protected person from his father, Si Abdul Qader, to whom it was granted for hospitality and help to the Royal Navy when, before 1913, its ships used to anchor in Tetuan bay to take on water and supplies. His principal interest is the safeguarding of the family properties in all three zones of Morocco. Is reputed by his compatriots to be mean but is otherwise of good reputation. Unmarried.

25. Haj Mohammad Erzini

Born about 1895, only brother of AbdusSalam, than whom he is more popular as he is more open-handed. Has considerable nationalist sympathies. His only son, AbdulQader, is studying agriculture in England.

26. Si Mohammad ben Haj AbdusSalam el Fasi

Born about 1914. Learned the Koran by heart. Educated first at the Tetuan "Ahliya" School, then at the Nablus "An-Nayah" School in Palestine and finally at Robert College, Istanbul, where he studied engineering and completed his studies with a good record.

On his return to Morocco he was employed for a short time only by the Public Works Department as overseer but forced out by his Spanish competitors. Succeeded Torres (q.v.) as director of the Free Institute, teaching mathematics, chemistry and physics. In 1946 was sent by the Khalifa to Cairo as a member of a Cultural Commission and there spoke so openly against the Spanish Zone régime that he was forbidden re-entry. Lived in Tangier, working chiefly for the National Reform Party of which he is an active and leading member, but his American college degree later earned him well-paid employment with the American Construction Company, there and in the French Zone. Was forced out by the French in 1952 and is back in Tangier.

Speaks very good English with an American accent, as well as Spanish. An active man with Western ideas.

27. Si Abdullah Abdessamad Gunnun

Born at Fez about 1907. Has lived mostly in Tangier, but was for a time a professor of the Qaraween University at Fez. Has written much on literary and theological subjects. Knows Spanish and French well.

A personal friend of Mohammad V. After the latter's deposition he associated himself with his cause and moved to Tetuan where he was appointed Director of the Mulay Hasan Cultural Institute. Appointed Minister of Justice in the Makhzan, December 1954. Although not belonging to any Nationalist Party, stands well with the Nationalists, and is generally regarded by his fellow countrymen as a man of integrity.

28. Si Mohammad el Khatib

Born about 1915. Educated at the Tetuan Free Institute and went with a scholarship to Egypt, where he entered the Cairo School of Applied Engineering. On his return was taken up by the Department of Education and Culture and put in charge of the physics and mathematics classes at the Moroccan

Institute of Secondary Education in Tetuan. Is also on the Board of Examiners. A moderate nationalist.

29. Lalla Fatma, Princess

Khalifa's wife. Born about 1921, in Tangier, to the former Sultan Mulai "Abdul" Aziz in his retirement there.

Married on the 5th June, 1949, to the Khalifa, she gave birth to a daughter in March 1950.

She is the Khalifa's first and so far only wife and was brought up in Tangier completely emancipated from the normal bonds of Islam on women. She has, however, had to adapt herself to this harem life of a Moorish princess. Speaks French and English well. Owns property in Tangier.

30. El Arbi el Luh

Born about 1905 in the Rif. His brother was a Caid under Abdul Karim. Studied in the theological institute at Tunis. Entered the service of the Makhzan in 1930, rising to the post of Chief Secretary to the Grand Vizir. Appointed Minister of Pious Foundations, December 1954. Has a reputation among his fellow countrymen for energy and honesty; on poor terms with the Khalifa and his court.

31. Si Mohammad ben el Haj Mustafa el Mellali

Born in the Kholot about 1882. Entered Sultan Mulai Hafidh's service when young and Spanish service in 1911. Is quite uneducated and very autocratic. Appointed Basha of Alcazarquivir in 1933. November 1954 appointed Representative (Naib) of the Grand Vizir for the Western Region of the Spanish Zone. A corrupt, rapacious and oppressive governor.

32. Ahmad ben Mohammad ben Ali al Meslohi

Born in the Ghomara about 1895. Succeeded his father, under appointment from the then rebel, Raisuni, as Qaid of the Telata of Beni Ahmad. Joined the Spaniards soon after his territory was overrun by the Rifs in 1925 and was renamed Qaid after Abdul Karim's defeat. Forcibly recruited Moorish tribesmen for Franco's crusade and in 1941 was awarded the campaign medal with special "Vanguard" insignia. Introduced in his tribeland in 1946 a repressive and lucrative system of forcible land purchase which drove numbers of tribesmen to the capital, but their grievances went unredressed. Appointed Basha or Governor of Chauen, 1950.

A thoroughly unpopular governor but one well supported by the Spanish Administration.

33. Hasan ben Ahmad Mesmudi

Born about 1925 of Moroccan parents living in Egypt. Came to Tetuan in 1946. Since 1947 has been editor of *Al Maarifa*, the organ, appearing intermittently, of the Shura (Democratic) Party.

34. Shereef Mulai Ahmad ben al Mahdi

Khalifa's younger brother.

Born about 1915 of a concubine. Little seen, of no political importance and known chiefly for his lechery, to satisfy which he sometimes goes to publicly culpable lengths. April 1955, married Lalla Hasania bent Mulay Laarbi ben Abdulhadi al Alawi.

35. Shereef Mulai 'Arafa

Born about 1920. Eldest son of Mulay ben 'Arafa, who became Sultan in August 1953. Married the Khalifa's sister in 1948. Lived in Tetuan until December 1953, when, because of his awkward position in the dynastic question, he moved to Rabat. Summer 1955 moved to Tangier.

50091

36. Shereef Mulai Ismail ben al Hasan

Khalifa's third son. Born about 1934.

37. Shereef Mulai al Madhi ben al Hasan

Khalifa's eldest son.

Born about 1929 of a concubine. Educated from 1937 until 1941 in Egypt, then in Spain, where in 1951 he graduated in law at Madrid University. The most educated and presentable member of the Khalifian family, but to the point of knowing more Spanish than Arabic and having Spanish friends, many of them female, in preference to Moorish. Is classed by his former associates as stupid and lazy. Knows a little English. Is studying engineering.

38. Shereef Mulai Mohammad ben al Hasan

Khalifa's second son.

Born about 1931, of a concubine. Insignificant.

39. Shereef Mulai Mohammad ben al Mahdi

Khalifa's elder brother.

Known as El Gordo, "Fat One." Married to a Spaniard. Born about 1907 of a slave or concubine. Head of his brother's so-called Privy Council, which hardly ever meets and was created in 1948 by the last High Commissioner as a check to the National Reform Party. Is also honorary colonel of the Khalifian Mehalla or Guard, whose uniform he invariably wears. Swarthy. Very short and fat but powerful.

Mulai Mohammad is debited by his co-religionists with disgraceful morals and is not only a *bon viveur* but a black marketeer in the full sense of both titles. Scandals as well as tales of physical prowess surround him. He is a favoured recipient of Spanish *douceurs* in the form of import permits, which he sells, and of virtual immunity from frontier customs search.

40. Si Mohammad ben Omar Qaddawi

Born about 1891 in the Rif, where he grew up virtually unschooled except in the repetitive reading of the Koran and then passed on this smattering of the first two R's to others in the Koranic schools of the Rural Rif. When the mountains were occupied by Spain he sided with the Spaniards and was rewarded with the Qaidship of several tribes consecutively and, when General Varela introduced his Makhzan "reforms" in 1948, was selected as about the only presentable Rifi to put at the head of the so-called Ministry of Agriculture and Production. This is a completely hollow creation about which Qaddawi neither knows nor does anything except draw his salary, to which he adds the proceeds of the sales of the political import licences with which he is favoured by his political employers, all real control of his office being exercised by the Spanish Department of Economy and Industry.

His continuance in the Makhzan after Garcia-Valiño's reshuffle of it in December 1954 was intended to constitute representation of the Rif in the Government.

41. Mulai Mohammad Khalid ben Ahmad Raisuni

Born about 1901, son of the notorious bandit-Shereef Raisuli or Raisuni, from whom he inherits lust for power and a ruthless cruelty. Is the best educated and the most absolute of the Hispanophil Moorish governors. Made Basha of Larache in 1934. Since his appointment he has amassed enormous wealth, including houses, land and cattle, partly by confiscation, imprisonments and floggings, on occasions to death: i.e., by uncontrolled abuse of power; also the use of various favours, such as import and export permits given by the Spanish administration. Is part-owner, amongst other things, of the Tangier bull-ring. He consorts and is said to be married with a Spanish officer's widow.

Raisuni is one of the most useful Spanish tools in the zone by reason of his name and reputation. He is not on good terms with the Khalifa who thinks that Raisuni aims at supplanting him; the animosity between the two men is periodically fanned by the Spaniards; the latter have recently conferred an extra favour on Raisuni by increasing the area of his official jurisdiction at the expense of the district of Alcazarquivir.

42. Mohammad bil Mekki Raisuni

Born about 1880, a native of Tetuan and son of a distinguished and popular branch of the famous (when not infamous) Raisuni family. Although he lacks education and culture, he is pleasant in his dealings and plainly modest, qualities which, with his proved honesty, have won him popular esteem. Was named director of Makhzan properties, equivalent to our Crown Lands, by the Khalifa's father in 1922 and promoted Vizir for Finance and Crown Lands when General Varela "reformed" the Makhzan in 1948. Although quite incapable of altering the state of inertia in which his "Ministry" exists, he has made his office at least decorative and decent.

Bil Mekki Raisuni also controls the large assets and revenues of the Historic Raisuni Zawis or Pilgrims' Guest Rest House at Tazerut in the Beni Aros mountains, where his blood-thirsty and notorious relative the brigand Shereef once lived and held his prisoners, like Mr. Walter B. Harris, to ransom; and by way of contrast Bil Mekki is a model of honour and rectitude.

43. Dr. Mohammad Skirej

Born about 1914. Educated locally, then entered the Faculty of Medicine at Granada University, where he qualified, visiting Egypt meanwhile. Returned to Tetuan and set up in private practice. Immediately on return seems to have met with some difficulties on the Spanish side. Is now Assistant Head of the Children's Section of the Civil Hospital.

44. Si Mohammad Tanji

Born at Tetuan about 1904. Educated at the Qaraween University at Fez and Al Azhar in Cairo. Is a professor of theology, writes much on religious subjects and preaches in the mosques. A prominent member of the National Reform Party. In 1936 and again in 1937, when Torres was in charge of the Department of Pious Foundations, Tanji was his chief assistant, resigning when he did on each occasion.

Tanji became very popular as a result of his active opposition to the Spanish Administration in Morocco in 1948, when he was imprisoned and heavily fined. Was appointed Deputy Leader of the party in 1954. Appointed secretary-general to the Ministry of Social Affairs in the Spanish zone, January 1955.

Since taking office has lost much of his reputation and has come to be regarded as simply an office-seeker like Torres (q.v.).

45. AbdusSalam ben Ahmad Tamsamani

Born in the Rif about 1902. For many years right-hand man of Mekki al Nasiri, leader of the Moroccan Unity Party. In 1952 gave up his connection with Nasiri and returned to Tetuan from Tangier. Appointed Secretary-General in the Grand Viziriate May 1955.

46. Mohammad Tenana

Born about 1895. Expert in Moslem law; notary public. A Nationalist since 1930 and a member of the committee of the National Reform Party since its foundation in 1937. Generally respected.

47. Si AbdulKhalik Torres

Born in 1905 of a leading Andalusian-Arab family and grandson of one of the Sultan's best-known Ministers for Foreign Affairs, who represented Morocco at the Algeiras Conference. Learned the Koran when young and studied theology and Arabic at the Fez Qaraween University, and later the history and legislation of Morocco, which he is said to have mastered. Speaks excellent Spanish and learnt French during a two-year stay in Paris. In 1932 toured Europe, including England. On his return, founded the Moroccan Students' Association and has ever since been closely identified with the cause of Moorish education. Founded the Free Institute in 1935, the first secondary school in Morocco.

Founded the National Reform Party in 1936 and has been its leader ever since. In 1937 represented Morocco at the Pan-Islamic Conference in Cairo, where his speech made a considerable impression. After an outspoken speech in Tetuan in 1946 criticising General Varela's native policy and a special audience of the Sultan in Tangier, Torres again went to Cairo where he saw much of Abdul-Karim al Khatabi. As a result, his return to Tetuan was forbidden and a small riot followed, but he had to remain in exile in Tangier until invited to return in 1952 by General Valiño. In January 1955 was appointed Minister of the newly-created Ministry of Social Affairs.

Torres is able but venal and ambitious. He (with the Khalifa) lent a too-ready ear during the war to German "offers" to give him political powers in Morocco. Since his return to Tetuan in 1952 he has followed a policy of co-operation with the Spanish High Commission which has at times severely strained the loyalty of a section of the National Reform Party; his acceptance of office under the Spaniards further accentuated this strain and lost him some of his prestige with the general public, which took it as evidence that he was concerned chiefly with his own personal advancement. But despite all this he remains the unchallenged leader of the National Reform Party and the focus of the aspirations of the Nationalists of the Spanish zone.

48. Caid Omar Uchen

Born about 1875. Since 1947 Representative (Naib) of the Grand Vizir in the eastern region of the Spanish zone. Corrupt, unpopular and of poor education; it is widely remembered against him that he helped the Spaniards against AbdulKarim.

49. Um Kultum, Princess

Born to the Khalifa and Princess Lalla Fatma on March 24, 1950.

50. Si Mohammad Luail ben Dris ben Yaish

Born about 1896, a native of Larache, of a family that has long served in Sultan's households. Khalifa's Qaid al Meshwar or Master of Ceremonies from about 1930 until 1955. His two brothers also serve the Khalifa. Quite uneducated, but has picked up fluent Spanish and a Spanish wife. Is, nevertheless, bringing up his children as strict Moslems. Has a kindly nature which makes him popular, a rarity among Masters of the Audience Chamber. Not much in Spanish favour, however, probably because he once supported the Frente Popular, yet well protected by the Khalifa, with whom he shares many of his pickings, business and other.

51. Si Mohammad ben Hammu Zariuh

Born at Khadia, near Villa Nador, in the eastern region of Spanish Morocco in 1912, approximately. Studied Islamic law and theology at the Azhar University in Cairo.

He lived mostly at Villa Nador but in April 1952 founded in Tetuan, under Spanish auspices, the "Maghrib Al Hor" ("Free Morocco") political party. He was also the editor of his party's organ which ceased publication in August 1952.

Appointed Minister of Education and Culture in the Spanish Zone of Morocco, January 1955.

Has a certain following in the Kert region and in the Spanish "plan" represents the Kert in the Makhzan. Is poorly regarded by the National Reform Party and is regarded as of little account by the Tetuani Moors in general. Is thought to be waiting for a suitable opportunity to increase the power of his Ministry at the expense of the Spanish Department of Education.

SPANISH

101. Achutegui, Agustin

Director of the Moroccan State Bank. Delegate for Finance 1952-January 1954. Intelligent. Staunch Catholic. Lives quietly with his wife and two children.

102. Alvarez Claro, Rafael

Born in Malaga about 1892. Was foreman in the docks. Later set up an insurance and shipping agency in Melilla and laid the foundations of his fortune as an army contractor during the Rif War. He subsequently rendered similar valuable services to the Franco Party during the uprising. He suffered many ups and downs, but was finally elected Mayor of Melilla in 1940.

As mayor he is reliably reputed to have used his position to foster his own private interests. He also embarked on a lavish programme of public building, much of which has been criticised as wasteful.

In 1952 was appointed Acting Head of the Department of Economics, Industry and Commerce of the Spanish Zone by his friend Garcia-Valiño; promoted Head of the Department in February 1955. President of the Hispano-Moroccan Press Association from 1954.

Thanks to his friendship with the High Commissioner and his power to grant or withhold import, export and foreign exchange licences, he is one of the most powerful men in the zone and is not neglecting the resulting opportunities to enrich himself. Has a forceful character and an outwardly genial manner; his size testifies to his love of good living. Married; several children.

103. Alvarez Rementeria, Antonio

Brigadier-General. Military Governor of Tetuan. Until November 1954 also held the Jebala command with which the Tetuan post is normally associated. When Alvarez Rementeria reached the age-limit his friend Garcia-Valiño had to accept a new man for the Jebala command but detached the Tetuan post from it in order to keep Alvarez Rementeria with him.

Has the reputation of being something of a martinet towards his subordinates and excessively acquiescent to Garcia-Valiño. Socially agreeable. Italian wife.

104. Aracama Gorosabel, Lieutenant-Colonel Juan

Doctor. Physician to the High Commission and to H.I.H. the Khalifa, with whom his wife is very friendly. Is director of the Military Hospital. Is well-off, having business interests and appreciable property. Is said to be pro-masonic and to have been protected during the Spanish Civil War by the Khalifa. Professionally he is quick to reject responsibility by calling in other doctors. Socially he is

easy to get on with, also clever at worming his way into remunerative official posts.

He is married for the second time and has six children.

105. Aragoncillo Sevilla, Cipriano

Born in Malaga 1906. Married. The outstanding Spanish lawyer in Spanish North Africa; honorary legal adviser to this Consulate-General. Engages in business, in which he is associated with Alvarez Claro (q.v.), as well as in the law; has become very prosperous and is sometimes too busy to attend properly to all the legal work which he undertakes.

106. Bellod, Antonio

Born 1898. Lawyer by profession is one of Tetuan Court's judges. A widower. Lives a retired life, but is agreeable company.

107. Benet, Rafael

Catalan by origin. Born about 1905. The leading merchant industrialist of Tetuan, owning a paper mill, exporting various commodities and holding a number of import agencies including the profitable Mercedes-Benz agency. A self-made man, industrious, tough and capable, who is now one of the richest men in the zone, in close relations with Alvarez Claro (q.v.). A friend of the High Commissioner with whom he goes shooting. Strongly pro-Nazi during the war, as was his wife.

108. Bermejo y Gomez, José Maria

January 1954 appointed Delegate-General in the Spanish High Commission (for earlier career see Madrid Personalities). Has not made any great mark on the administration and does not conceal his desire to return to diplomatic employment; on first arriving in Tetuan found it irksome that the colonels and majors on the High Commissioner's personal staff had so much more real power than he did, but is now apparently reconciled to the position.

Is good company and, for foreign representatives, a refreshing change from the average local official. Unpopular with other Spaniards here, by whom he is regarded as dry, aloof, and (because he has launched something of an anti-noise campaign) eccentric.

His wife has not joined him in Tetuan, but a married daughter from the Canaries brings her numerous small children to spend the summer with him.

109. Bermejo y Lopez, José, Colonel

Born about 1900. Promoted Delegate for Education and Culture, February 1954, from his previous post of Deputy Head of the Department of Native Affairs. At an earlier stage in his career was Governor of Sidi Ifni. A quiet man with an agreeable manner. American wife.

110. Carvajal Arrieta, Luis, Colonel

1952-54, Head of the Education Department and Head of the Falange for Spanish North Africa; previously District Administrative Officer for the Tetuan region. 1954, reverted to military employment as Officer Commanding the Legion in Larache.

Staunch Falangist and Catholic. Married and has children. Socially very affable and agreeable and popular with the fair sex, for which he has a weakness. Energetic, but with no outstanding talent.

111. Casquero Medina, José Maria

Married; has children; born about 1910. Staff major. Head of the Protectorate Secretariat. Intelligent and agreeable. Gets on very well with the present High Commissioner who uses him as a means of contact with the Moors when he wishes to by-pass the Native Affairs Department. Friendly and useful to the Consulate-General.

112. Cuevas, Fernandez

Brigadier-General.
Commands the Lukus (Western) Command.
Reputed a good soldier and agreeable company.

113. Delgado Fernandez, Manuel

Born about 1895. Appointed Delegate for Public Works, 1954. Widower with a daughter in Tetuan married to Pi Cuchi, Technical Secretary of the Department of Economics. Personal friend of the High Commissioner. An honest and worthy man who does his best for the zone's roads with the limited funds at his disposal.

114. Dominguez Fernandez, Salvador

Born about 1905, a widower. Secretary in the "Delegación General" and official in the Administrative Corps. Staunch Falangist of the old brigade (*camisas viejas*). During the Spanish Civil War he was attached to the Political Information Service and worked under cover in Tangier, frequently detaining Republicans with the help of various "gangster" friends and bringing them to Tetuan to be shot. He seems to be completely trusted in the High Commission and has thus occupied his position as secretary for several years, although the delegates-general have been changed several times. He was recently given the paid post of administrator attached to the local *Diario de Africa*.

115. Gallego Suarez Somonte, Manuel

Born about 1896, married; has children. Air Force General. Holds position of General-in-Chief of the Air Force in Morocco. Has an unpleasant character and grossly ill-treats the personnel under him. Lives in a villa taken in the name of the Air Force and has spent a lot of public money in repairing it. He has it staffed with Air Force personnel as cooks, messengers, boot-blacks, guards, &c., and is reputed to make a lot of money using Air Force planes to fly contraband into Spain. A great frequenter of the clubs and cinemas. Is very full of his own importance and claims that, as senior general in the zone after the High Commissioner, he should take precedence over the Delegate-General.

116. Garcia Cuencas, Tomas

Born about 1896. Retired colonel, now head of the Veterinary Service. Has lived in Morocco for many years. Was attached to the Spanish Consulate-General in Tangier during his military career. Has a French wife. Sociable.

117. Garcia-Figueras, Tomás

Born about 1890. Widower. Starting life as an artillery officer has made his career in Morocco which he has studied deeply. Is a prolific writer on Moroccan questions. Held a number of administrative posts, including those of Delegate successively for Economics and Education, before being appointed Delegate for Native Affairs in 1952. This is one of the key posts in the administration since the Delegate for Native Affairs controls both the police and the District Administrative Officers (Interventores), who are the backbone of the Spanish administration; he has brought to this task an unusual capacity for sustained hard work (he reaches his office at 8 every morning) and a firm determination to keep all effective power in the zone in Spanish hands. For this latter reason he is detested by the Nationalists.

A Falangist and friend of Serrano Suñer in his pro-Nazi days, he is believed to stand well with Franco and is credited with the ambition of being Franco's first civilian High Commissioner in Morocco.

118. Garcia-Saúdo y Giraldo, Manuel

Born about 1904. Newspaperman. Married and has children. Time-server. Claims to be a friend of the English and indeed often supplies the Consulate-General with news and views, sometimes of some value. Amateur poet. Politically "Requeté."

119. Garcia-Valiño y Marcen, Lieutenant-General Rafael

In March 1951 appointed Spanish High Commissioner in Morocco, Governor-General of the State Territories and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Morocco. For his earlier career, military reputation and reputed ambitions in Metropolitan Spain see Madrid Personalities.

The main task of any Spanish High Commissioner is to keep order and to maintain the authority of the Spanish Government and this task Garcia-Valiño has fulfilled efficiently during the last four and a half years. He has also shown himself to be a careful and methodical administrator.

His conception of his role involves much self-glorification and he has surrounded himself with an apparatus of pomp and ceremony and an aura of inaccessibility and infallibility. He has also developed a manner, which, with its frigid solemnity, has done much to make him unpopular with his fellow-countrymen in Morocco; his reputation for using his position to make money is a further cause of unpopularity, not least with those who envy him the opportunities for enrichment denied to themselves. In general it can be said that among Spaniards here he is feared but not liked, except perhaps by some State functionaries for whom he has obtained much-needed improvements in pay. A further cause of criticism among Spaniards, especially in Ceuta and Melilla, is that he is alleged to pay too much attention to the Moors and to neglect the interests of the Spanish business communities.

Certainly Garcia-Valiño has built himself up as the Champion of Hispano-Moroccan "brotherhood." The first significant manifestation of this trend occurred in 1952 when he permitted Torres (*q.v.*) to return from exile and to revive the National Reform Party which had been suppressed by Varela in 1948. The experiment was not at first very successful, but the situation was radically transformed by the French deposition of Mohammad V in August 1953; thus provided with a cause which united Spain and the Nationalists, Garcia-Valiño had for over two years a clear field in which to proclaim the doctrine of brotherhood and the advantages to Moroccans of Spanish friendship, supplementing his words with various deeds, *e.g.*, granting asylum to fugitives from the French Zone and permitting Tetuan press and radio to be used for pro-Nationalist and anti-French propaganda. As a further gesture to Nationalist sentiment he reshuffled the Makhzan in 1954 and in January 1955 brought Torres into it at the head of the newly-created Ministry of Social Affairs. But he did not give the Makhzan any increased authority and made it clear in his public statements that his policy was to advance slowly and that the prospect of self-government for the Spanish Zone was a very remote one indeed.

As far as British interests are concerned, he has shown himself amenable to argument; and when he has given decisions favourable to us he has carried them out faithfully.

In his private life he is a devoted family man (he has seven children). His recreation is shooting, of which he is extremely fond.

120. Gasset y Diez de Ulzurrun, Eduardo, Conde de Peñarrubias

Appointed Head of the Diplomatic Cabinet May 1955, on transfer from Zürich. Has the rank of Counsellor. His wife is of the Garvey sherry family.

He is affable in manner, but it remains to be seen if he will be of any use to foreign representatives here as an effective channel of communication with the authorities that run the zone.

121. Gomendio Ochoa, José Eugenio

Manages the Lukus Company which produces and exports large quantities of oranges from its properties near Larache. Reputed to be a good organiser. Pro-Nazi during the war, now sends his children to school in England.

122. Gomez Arroyo, Francisco

Born in Granada about 1892. Retired army general. Doctor. Director of the zone's Civil Health Services. Not particularly well qualified for the post which he holds as recompense for his excellent military record. Staunch Catholic; was very strict in his soldiering days.

123. Gotarredona, Ramon, Brigadier-General

Appointed Chief of Staff of the Army of Morocco, August 1955.

124. Herrero Muñoz, Luis

Born about 1910. Captain in the Air Force Medical Services. Also has a private practice. Married to the daughter of a former artillery officer, commanding in Seville in July 1936 who was executed by Queipo de Llano for refusing to take part in the uprising. Herrero himself is very Catholic and a Fascist (*camisa vieja*). Dr. Herrero is at present studying English, but he used to deride others who were doing so before the end of the last world war. Although he now shows himself very friendly, he was not so formerly when friends were needed. He is said to have no scruples about using his political and official influence to better his position even at the expense of his friends and companions. Nevertheless he is pleasant and entertaining company. His wife is the local tennis champion.

125. Hinojosa, Francisco Rodriguez

Colonel in the Guardia Civil. Director-General of Security for the Spanish Zone. A fat Sevillian, of a well-to-do family, passionately interested in bull-fighting.

126. Limia Perez, Adolfo

Born about 1897; married; has children. Head of the Moroccan Customs. Is an exceptionally hard-working and honest man and a staunch supporter of the administration's interests, who does not admit "recommendations" concerning official matters "sub-judice" (seizures of contraband, &c.). Has always done his utmost to satisfy our consular requests. Reliable and friendly. A monarchist.

127. Llord O'Lawlor, Manuel

Widower with children. Was at one time Head of the Makhzan Properties, where, it seems, he took bribes. Now Municipal Judge. Anglophobe.

128. Lopez Lopez, José

Born about 1892. One of the zone's administrative officials. Has lived for some thirty-five years in Tetuan. Holds the minor position of archivist to the Finance Department, but having been friendly with most of the now senior officers at various stages in their Moroccan careers is on good terms with them all and ranks as something of a local celebrity. Vice-president of the Hispano-Moroccan Press Association.

129. Lopez Tienda, Joaquin, Brigadier-General

November 1954 appointed to command the Jebala command (without the title of Military Governor of Tetuan which usually goes with it, this post being required for Alvarez Rementeria (*q.v.*)). A courteous and agreeable man with artistic tastes; fond of cards.

130. Manso, Gumersindo, Brigadier-General

Sub-Inspector of the Khalifian Forces. Born about 1892, married with one son. Of good personal and professional reputation.

131. Mendizabal, Eduardo

Born about 1920. 1954, promoted from Assistant Public Prosecutor to Public Prosecutor. Is efficient but has not succumbed to the callousness which might easily afflict one exercising the functions he does.

132. Perez del Rio, Eduardo

Born about 1890. Married. 1952, appointed President of the Hispano-Moroccan Courts, the highest judicial post in the zone. Reputed a good judge who keeps strict order in his court. An agreeable, though garrulous, man. President of the Tetuan "Amigos de la Musica."

133. Rivas Gonzalez, Felix

Born about 1908 in Palencia. Married and has children. Industrial engineer; director of Electras Marroques and president of the Chamber of Commerce. Staunch Catholic and active in Church affairs. Anglophobe. In touch with United States interests in Tangier.

134. Rodriguez Ruiz, Arturo

Head of Protocol to the High Commissioner since February 1954. His rank of Minister Plenipotentiary is rendered ridiculous by the insignificance of his functions. An agreeable nonentity. Bachelor.

135. Roviralta Matallana, Santiago

District Administrative Officer (Interventor Territorial) of the Tetuan district. Works closely under the control of Garcia-Figueras (*q.v.*) and believes in taking a firm line with the Moors in his district and with the Basha of Tetuan, who shares the task of local administration with him. Is noted for dogged hard work rather than intelligence.

136. Salazar, Francisco

Judge of the Tetuan "Audiencia." Staunch Catholic, pleasant character. Lives a retired life. Showed himself in the 1945-46 Fereres and Amar cases (British subject and protected person illegally imprisoned and maltreated) too subservient to administrative pressure to be a good judge.

137. Santamaria Quesada, Ramiro

Born in Melilla in 1925. Married. Newspaperman and special correspondent for several organs in Spain and Morocco. Falangist (*camisa vieja*). Fought in the Civil War and was in the Blue Division, 1951-52, employed by the Spanish Military Information Services. 1954, started, with the support of the High Commission, a weekly paper, *Aquí Marruecos*, which specialised in violent anti-French propaganda, varied by occasional attacks on the British. The paper ceased publication in summer 1955 apparently because Santamaria thought he did not make enough money out of it. He is a frequent contributor to the Tetuan daily papers, his articles being almost invariably informed by violent anti-French or anti-British prejudice.

138. Senthordi, Eduardo

Born about 1910. After a successful career in the Finance Department was appointed Delegate for Finance in February 1954. An efficient but not very forceful bureaucrat, liked by his subordinates. Reserved but sociable. He and his wife both take an active part in Church (Catholic) activities.

139. Serrano, Rafael Alvarez, Major-General

November 1954, appointed Commanding General of Melilla and the Eastern Region of the Spanish Zone.

140. Torres Martinez, Rafael

Born 1902. Married. Has seven children. Lieutenant-colonel, aide-de-camp to the High Commissioner. Affable, and when off duty frequents the Casino Español with a circle of friends. His children are friends of those of the High Commissioner.

141. Trujillo Machacon, Francisco

Of the Corps of District Administrative Officers. Spanish co-President of the mixed Hispano-Moroccan Municipality. In fact runs the Municipality without taking very much notice of his Moorish co-President.

CHAPTER IV.—TANGIER (INTERNATIONAL ZONE)**GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE**

JM1013/2

No. 40

TANGIER: QUARTERLY REPORT, OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1954

Mr. Muntz to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received January 10)

(No. 2. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tangier,
January 4, 1955*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the Quarter ended the 31st of December, 1954.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and the enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure to No. 40

**QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT FOR TANGIER
QUARTER ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1954**

General

Perhaps the most significant fact in the past quarter in Tangier was that there were not only no disturbances inspired by Nationalist feelings, but that there were scarcely even rumours of them, although on the anniversary of the accession of the ex-Sultan it was thought advisable to have the Special Police in a state of readiness. There were some disturbances, however, in the minds of European Tangerines as a result of the annual discussions on the Budget, and the Press campaign directed largely against the Administration and the Committee of Control to the effect that there were far too many Judges and Civil Servants imposed on the tax payers of the Zone (there are scarcely any taxes) in order to maintain the prestige of the various Powers. Despite the fact that the reasoning of the Press campaign was absurd and, followed logically, would lead in practice to the absorption of the Zone by Spain, which nobody except the Spaniards want, this campaign had at the end of the quarter made some small effect on one or two members of the Committee of Control.

Nationalism

2. Since August last, when all the leading Nationalists of Tangier were summoned before the President of the Committee of Control and told that they would be held responsible for any disorders which might take place, there have been no disturbances of any sort in Tangier. The local Istiqlal Committee held regular meetings, and prior to the anniversary of the ex-Sultan's accession in November, they had several discussions as to the line to be taken on that occasion. A few expressed themselves in favour of "peaceful manifestation" but even this was ruled out by the majority and in actual fact, except for the more or less "compulsory" closing of shops for one day, no gesture of any sort was made.

3. Apart from their respect for the Committee of Control, the more intelligent Nationalists have doubtless now come to realise that the value of Tangier as a sanctuary depends on their good behaviour and that even the most peaceful manifestation can be quickly converted into a riot by Spanish agents of whose

motives they are very suspicious. The Spanish policy of exploiting the Nationalist situation in order to prejudice the International Administration seems, therefore, to have received a setback.

4. The progress of the negotiations in Paris between Nationalist representatives and the French Government were followed with great interest in Tangier, though little reliable news on the subject was received. These negotiations, in which both Shura and Istiqlal representatives participated, were at first unofficial, but were later understood to have reached an official level and were thought to afford far more hope of a settlement than was ever expected from U.N.O. The fact that the Moroccan question was shelved by U.N.O. was therefore received with comparative equanimity.

Committee of Control

5. The French Minister M. de Panafieu left on the 16th of November. As his departure coincided within half an hour with the end of the feast of Mulud, it was widely thought for a short time that the guns fired for the latter were in fact a farewell salute to him. This led to some informal, but somewhat acrimonious, exchanges in the Legislative Assembly between the French and the American representatives, the rest of the Zone having dissolved in laughter. M. de Boisseson, the new French Minister, arrived on the 6th of December; and on the 31st of December M. de Radigues retired after nearly 10 years as Belgian Minister here. The Committee was occupied during the quarter with a wide variety of subjects, most of which were of small importance. The Spanish suffered a signal defeat ostensibly at the hands of the Legislative Assembly, in their attempt to impose regulations supposedly intended to reduce smuggling traffic from Tangier to Spain, measures which would probably have been ineffective for this purpose but would also probably have been to the advantage of Couta. The interminable discussions on the future of the Oeuvre Antituberculeuse and the Régie de l'Eau had not led to much progress at the end of the quarter. In each case the real issue is whether Spanish influence in these organisations shall be increased or not. It seemed probable that Spanish influence would increase in the Oeuvre, though probably not in the Régie. On the 16th of November the Committee of Control passed (at long last) an ordinance which reduced the restrictions on the liberty, or, more accurately, the freedom of distribution of the Press. For the present, therefore, the last shot has been fired in the so-called Franco-Spanish Press war, which began here in the spring.

6. Early in December the Spanish Ambassador requested the Committee of Control to expel a certain Mahomet Azarkan, brother-in-law and Foreign Minister of Abdelkrim, on the grounds that his presence in Tangier, where he had just arrived after some 30 years compulsory residence in the French Zone, was a danger to public order in the Spanish Zone. Whether he was plotting insurrection or not, the allegation and the evidence were utterly insufficient for any action based on justice as it is understood in the United Kingdom. It was, however, clear from the start that the majority of the Committee of Control intended to take a decision on political grounds, and the end of the discussion was comic. At the same time there came before the Committee of Control the case of a well-known Nationalist resident in the Spanish Zone, whose passport had been rendered invalid by the French authorities in 1952, and who, having since obtained another passport from the Spanish authorities in Tetuan, had tried to come to Tangier. As the two cases were dealt with simultaneously, which the Spanish Ambassador had not expected, he was obliged to vote against the Nationalist carrying a Spanish passport as well as against Mohamed Azarkan's remaining in Tangier. Both were thus forbidden the Zone, an end which is probably desirable from the point of view of public order here and therefore from the point of view of the United Kingdom; but by arranging for the Committee to deal with both cases simultaneously, it was possible for the British and American representatives to achieve this desirable end without voting for it. It subsequently emerged that Azarkan was liable to arrest for issuing a cheque without provision, so that, in all probability, it would have been possible for the Spanish authorities to achieve their ends without the complications in which they became involved.

UNESCO.—A stateless subject M. Fekete, on his own initiative, constituted himself unofficial correspondent for UNESCO, and proceeded to distribute copies of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. This raised certain doubts in the minds of members of the Committee of Control, primarily the Spanish and French, as there can be no doubt that the majority of the population of those two Zones do not enjoy the rights proclaimed in this declaration. The Committee requested M. Fekete to conform to the normal behaviour of a political refugee in any country, and abstain from the distribution of any political paper whatever.

Citizens of the Republic of India.—The Committee of Control accepted a proposal made to them by H.M. Consul-General, with the approval of the Government of India, under which citizens of the Republic of India will in future, with certain exceptions, enjoy the rights of citizens of Powers who did not sign the Treaty of Algéciras rather than citizens of the Powers who did.

Administration

7. In early December the Prince de Croy, who had been nominated Administrator in the spring, let it be known that his health which had been persistently bad in the last six months, would prevent his taking up his appointment for several months more. The Committee of Control decided that another candidate must be sought, and the representatives of Belgium, Portugal, Holland and Sweden were duly informed that the post was vacant. At the end of the quarter the Portuguese Government had stated that it did not wish to submit a candidate and the Swedish Government had informed H.M. Consul-General as President of the Committee of Control they would not submit a candidate unless Belgium failed to do so. During the quarter, the acting Administrator continued the process, which had engaged his attention since May, of trying to put the Administrative house in order. He was, for the most part, occupied with departmental budgets, practically all of which were unduly swollen and had to be cut. It was a most difficult quarter for him, and he did very well, considering that he is only acting Administrator and in due course will have to revert to a position of equality with some whose budgets he was reducing.

Legislative Assembly

8. For the most part the Assembly has also been occupied with the Budget, and for the first time for years has displayed an admirable wish to reduce expenditure. This naturally involved proposals to reduce the number of Civil Servants in the Zone, many of whom are in fact superfluous. It was interesting to observe how the Spanish members of the Assembly, who receive categorical instructions on most issues from the Spanish Ambassador, tried to evade either the issues or the meetings. At the end of the quarter the Assembly had not completed its discussions on the Budget and as under the Statute no payments can be made after the 1st of January without a Budget, the Committee of Control was obliged to pass an ordinance on the 30th of December continuing the 1954 Budget by a "douzième" for the month of January. An unusual event took place when members of the Assembly expressed a wish, unofficially, to see the President of the Committee of Control to vent their grievances. The President having, like most of his colleagues on the Committee, a low opinion of the sense of responsibility of the Assembly, was not unwilling to meet this wish, and at an unofficial meeting consuming rather more than two hours of time and rather less than two bottles of whisky, there was a very informal discussion when a great many straight things were said, no doubt to the benefit of all parties. The Assembly also created a precedent by asking the Committee not to approve the Law (passed by the Assembly itself) creating a free port in Tangier. They thus avoided the passing by the Committee of Control of the related ordinance imposing allegedly anti-smuggling regulations mentioned above. The manoeuvre was successful, but it has not endeared the Assembly to the Spanish authorities.

Press

9. The *Tangier Gazette*, a small weekly newspaper of very limited circulation, which since it was started at the end of the last century had always been under British management, came earlier this year under an American editor. During the

quarter the ownership of the paper became in theory 50 per cent. American, 50 per cent. British, and a Board of Directors was created, two Americans and one British, the expressed intention being that in two years' time it should be two British and one American. The two Americans on the Board are the two American members of the Legislative Assembly, whose chief joy is to criticise the Committee of Control and the French authorities. The change can only be a benefit to our standing here as it becomes more widely known that the paper is for practical purposes American rather than British, for since last August it has produced a series of articles which are often illogical, inaccurate, sometimes ridiculous, and more often regrettable in that they are offensive to individuals in the Administration who cannot defend themselves. During the quarter, the *Dépêche Marocaine*, the local French paper, joined the *Tangier Gazette* for a short time in this campaign but seemed at the end of the quarter to be becoming more reasonable. The *Dépêche Marocaine* also published, with the co-operation of this Consulate-General, a special number on the United Kingdom.

Naval Visit

10. H.M.S. *Theseus*, Captain H. N. S. Brown, wearing the Flag of Rear-Admiral S. H. Carlill, and H.M.S. *Ocean*, Captain H. C. Browne, paid a very successful visit to Tangier from 23rd-27th November. These are the largest British ships that have been in the port for some time. The exemplary behaviour of their crews and the hospitality exchanged (which included a lunch party given for Admiral Carlill by the Mendoub) did no harm to our standing here.

JM 1011/2

No. 41

TANGIER : ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1954

Mr. Muntz to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received January 10)

(No. 3. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *January 4, 1955.*

In my despatch No. 4 of January 20, 1954, I remarked that the two subjects of major interest to this zone in 1953, that is Franco-Spanish relations and Nationalist problems, were so intimately connected that it was impossible to deal with them separately. They were still during 1954, as in fact is almost inevitable, the two subjects of major interest here, but they did not appear to be quite so inextricably entangled, partly, I think, because as I indicated at the end of my despatch last year, the Moors in general have realised that they are unlikely to obtain any real autonomy or independence from Spain and are interested in Spanish policy, therefore, more in so far as it can help them ephemerally in their dealings with the French. It is indeed remarkable, looking back on the three years that I have now spent here, to see how rapidly and how apparently easily the Spanish-Moorish honeymoon of 1951 was transformed into a Spanish-French alliance in 1952 which became in 1953 a Spanish-French divorce, and was followed in 1954 by renewed wooing by the Spaniards of somewhat indifferent Moors.

2. At the beginning of the year, Franco-Spanish relations here, which had deteriorated so rapidly after the deposition of the Sultan, could, it seemed, hardly have been worse. In Tangier, there was a newspaper war in which each side suspended the other's newspapers, and a visa war which affected tourist traffic through Tangier, though the mutual abuse on the wireless was not so prominent here as in the neighbouring zones. Considerable efforts were made by the "neutral" colleagues in Tangier to improve this state of affairs. How much material effect this had it is difficult to say. There seemed to be also some small efforts on the French side to reduce these puerile squabbles to a more sensible proportion, but practically none on the Spanish. Whatever the cause, however, the fact is that the newspaper and visa war died away in the spring of 1954, and the open hostility of the beginning of the year changed to a less vocal form and then to a resigned or sulky hostility on both sides.

3. In the course of the year, the Nationalists in Tangier regained some of their confidence, but they were still comparatively leaderless here, as all the more important members were and are abroad. Those leaders who remained in Tangier succeeded in keeping their more excitable followers under control, and gave evidence of a wish to work with the international authorities to maintain public order. The days during the year when trouble was expected, in August and November, in fact passed off quite quietly. There can be no doubt that the position of the ex-Sultan is, as far as local Moroccans are concerned, still a major issue, and, again as far as local Moroccans are concerned, I think it is most unlikely that any progress can be made in reducing their rooted hostility to the French authorities until some settlement has been reached on this question. As far as their attitude to the events in the Spanish zone is concerned, it can, I think, reasonably be described, as I have said above, as one of indifference with an unfortunate willingness to make use of the Spanish policy for action, possibly even violent, against the French.

4. During the year the reputation of the Mendoub and his influence with both Moorish and European populations sunk almost to zero. His wish to be on the winning side, his vacillations and finally his quiet and unheralded departure on holiday during the critical month of August, followed by his request for military honours on his return, were too much for anyone to swallow. In fact his absence in August made the task of the international authorities somewhat easier, but no one was under the illusion that this was the reason for his holiday.

5. As far as the position of Great Britain is concerned, a series of fortunate coincidences has allowed us to maintain the increased prestige gained in the preceding Coronation year. Her Majesty's voyage round the world was very well reported, and finishing through the Straits of Gibraltar within sight of Tangier in May, caused much interest here. It gave a large number of Tangerines a certain malicious pleasure when, after the Spanish protests about Her

Majesty's visit to Gibraltar, it became known that T.R.H. Prince Charles and Princess Anne were also to go to Gibraltar. Later in the year, the agreements made at Geneva on Indo-China, followed by the agreements with Egypt on the Canal base, with Persia on oil and with Saudi Arabia on the Buraimi oasis, impressed the population, in particular the Moroccan population, here so favourably that when it became necessary for me, as president of the Committee of Control in the first year after the deposition of the ex-Sultan to take steps for the preservation of public order on the anniversary of his deposition, it was not only very much easier for me to do so, but the result was a further quite unexpected increase in the popularity of Great Britain with the Moorish population. This was accepted by the French with equanimity, as they could understand what had occurred, but by the Spaniards with a certain chagrin, as it reflected on their claim to be the only country paying real attention to the well-being of the Arab peoples.

6. The presidency of the Committee of Control was taken over by Her Majesty's Consul-General from the French Minister on January 1. The Netherlands Minister was replaced in April, the French in November, the Belgian retired on December 31. On December 31, therefore, when Her Majesty's Consul-General handed over the presidency to the Italian Minister, the membership of the committee had changed radically, the Spanish representative, with personal rank of ambassador, being by far the oldest and most experienced member.

7. At the beginning of the year it soon became apparent that the tendency, on which I remarked in my last annual report, for the French representative to remember the *Entente Cordiale* at the expense of the 1952 Franco-Spanish Alliance was well established. Relations and co-operations on the Committee of Control with the French, the Portuguese, the American and the Belgian representatives continued to be excellent at the end of the year; with the Spanish and Italian representatives, relations were friendly and satisfactory, but co-operation more difficult. The new Netherlands Minister, while being apparently very willing to co-operate, appears to suffer to some extent from an inhibition that he must show himself to be independent. As the year ended his colleagues were in some doubt

not only as to his ability to understand French, but as to his ability to understand the peculiarities of this Zone. It is to be feared that unless he learns a good deal in the course of 1955, the year 1956, when he is due to become president, may be rather difficult.

8. The Committee of Control was chiefly occupied during the year in bringing into effect the reforms which were signed at the end of 1952 and brought officially into force in August 1953. There were a large number of questions involving interpretation of the reforms or of the intentions of the negotiators. The only item which was noticeably common to all of them was the Spanish policy of trying to increase the influence they had obtained and, as the great majority of the administrative servants are Spanish, to resist the efforts of the new British, French and Netherlands functionaries to bring some sort of order into the financial side of the Administration, which so many of the local international administrative servants had regarded, and still regard, as a milch cow. Although the discussion of some of these questions in the Committee of Control did from time to time engender a certain amount of acrimony, the great bulk of the questions were of no great political importance. On the whole, the Committee were fairly successful in settling amicably most of the questions that came before them.

9. The Portuguese Administrator, M. Archer, left the Zone at the end of May, greatly to everybody's relief, as he had continued up to the end of his time to demonstrate a total lack of organising power and a total inability to control the depredations of his inferiors even if he wished to do so, which is doubtful. The Committee appointed as Administrator the Prince de Croy Roelx. Before he was due to arrive on July 1, however, he fell seriously ill. His arrival was postponed a number of times until finally in December it became obvious that he would not be able to come until next March, if at all. The Administration had, in the meantime, been carried on by M. Vermeil, who is normally the French Assistant Administrator for Moroccan Affairs. He did extremely well in starting the work of cleaning the Augean stables, but his position was difficult because he had to control men who will in due course be his equals again, and after a French subject had been acting Administrator for four months, the Spaniards somewhat

naturally became restive. Early in October M. Vermeil, who had not been too well, himself tactfully decided to take a fortnight's holiday, so that the Spanish Assistant Administrator for Health and Social Affairs, Sr. de los Arcos, could act as Administrator. Although Sr. de los Arcos is a pleasant and congenial young man, he unfortunately lost no time, acting probably on instructions, in demonstrating the usual fault of his nationals here, that of looking after his compatriots at the expense of others and of the Zone. At the end of the year M. Vermeil was still acting Administrator and still making slow progress in the elimination of abuses, but there is so much to be done in this way it is doubtful if anyone could do the job in less than three or four years.

10. A rather similar situation developed during the year in the international jurisdiction, but more slowly. The new judges, and particularly those from Holland, Sweden, Portugal, France and the United States, quite obviously did not realise at the beginning of the year that the courts here resembled little their ideas of Courts of Justice. There can be no doubt that some of the old judges were willing, in order to establish the position of their protégés, to put "fast ones" across the new judges, and for at least the first half of the year such of these manoeuvres as were circumvented were stopped only by the greater experience of certain members of the Committee of Control, although their powers in the international jurisdiction are limited. Towards the end of the year, however, the new judges seemed to have found their feet, and realised what they had to deal with, so that there was some hope of the improvement in justice, which was intended to be effected by the reforms of 1952.

11. The Legislative Assembly lost the Father of the House—Colonel Ellis—and one of the second eldest members, Dr. Crambes, at the end of 1953. Lack of guidance from these two experienced men became rather obvious in 1954, and with the departure of Mr. Archer, a certain number of unpleasant problems came to light. These two facts, coupled with a level of business much lower than that obtaining in the immediate post-war years, and what must be admitted to be the somewhat arbitrary and dictatorial attitude of some members of the Committee of Control, produced a state of mind in July which was far from conducive to co-operation

between the three bodies, the Committee, the Administration and the Assembly. Whether the press campaign, which developed in the second half of the year against, in effect, the Committee of Control and the Administration, was the cause or effect of this it is difficult to tell, but there is no doubt that it was encouraged, if not started, by the two American members of the Assembly who were also journalists, and at the end of the year had taken over control of the *Tangier Gazette*, which used to be British. The British Assistant Administrator, Mr. Crawshaw, received his due measure of praise for producing the first budget to show with accuracy full details of the position of the Zone. As a result, largely of the irresponsibility of Mr. Archer and of the Assembly in previous years, the Zone's financial position was seen to be such that the Assembly's mood was even further exasperated. On the whole this state of affairs may not be altogether bad, as the Assembly in December were, for the first time in years, examining the budget properly and making reductions without their usual care for the pockets of their friends and relations.

12. Perhaps the most significant fact of the year 1954, from the point of view of international administration of Tangier, was that this new spirit was seen to be moving in the running of the Zone. Allusions have been made above to the intention, manifested in various quarters, to put an end to corruption. No doubt coincidence has played a part if not in the birth of this spirit, then in its development; nor is it an exaggeration to say that without strong British support the spirit must have died. In the legal sphere it was the reforms of 1952, upon which the United Kingdom so firmly insisted, that brought new judges to Tangier, all of whom are determined that with them shall come justice. In the governmental sphere, it was perhaps a fortunate accident that the president of the Committee of Control, the Assistant Administrator for Finance, and the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Assembly were all British, and shared a common attitude towards covering expenditure from revenue. But this attitude was not, of course, exclusively British: as mentioned above, the French Acting Administrator, unlike his predecessor, was no less anxious to keep expenditure within limits. At the same time, a similar spirit seemed to be moving the inhabitants of the

Zone. In the press, though the "angle" was different, the wish to see an end put to corruption and mismanagement moved the French and British newspapers, and the Spanish press was careful to join more quietly in the chorus for obvious reasons. In the business world, a belief in the existence of a slump, which in fact is probably only a return to normal, joined to a fear lest taxation should be increased, fostered a similar interest in the avoidance of waste, and of extravagance. Although therefore the motives of the several groups are different, the purpose of each is the same. It would be rash to suppose that this spirit must go from strength to strength until the administration of the Zone becomes efficient and free from corruption. The spirit is in its infancy and may not survive, but it does seem possible to hope that the changes effected in 1954 may lead to an improvement.

13. In accordance with the instructions contained in paragraph 4 (ii) of Circular No. 078 of September 9, 1953, I have the honour to enclose a summary of the year's events in chronological order.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch and its enclosure to his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure

APPENDIX TO TANGIER DESPATCH NO. 3 OF JANUARY 4, 1955

- Jan. President of the Committee of Control.*
Her Majesty's Consul-General became president of the Committee of Control on January 1 for the year 1954.
- Dutch Consul-General*
M. A. Merens, Dutch Consul-General in Tangier since February 1950, left to take up an appointment as Minister in the Philippines.
- Reaction to Tribal gathering in Tetuan on January 21*
With the demonstration of Spanish Zone opposition to the Sultan, and with Spanish leaders openly attacking French policy, rumours began to circulate in Tangier. A change of Mendoub was the subject of brief speculation. Feeling at no time ran high, and the campaign of rumour and propaganda gradually faded out.

- Feb. Naval visit*
H.M.S. *Superb* accompanied by H.M.S. *Reward*, *Artful*, *Scorcher* and *Tireless* visited Tangier from February 26 to March 2.
- Mar. Attempt on life of the Sultan*
There was no reaction in Tangier to this event on March 5.
- Gold sovereign case*
The Assistant Treasury solicitor pleaded in the courts in Tangier on March 31 in a case in which two Italians were charged with counterfeiting gold sovereigns and other coins. The case was decided against the Italians, but went to appeal, and was still without final result at the end of the year.
- April Dutch Consul-General*
Dr. H. H. Dingemans arrived to take up his appointment as Dutch Consul-General in succession to M. Merens.
- Protocol on recruitment and promotion*
This Protocol was signed by the members of the Committee of Control on April 29.
- May The Administrator left Tangier*
Dr. J. Archer, the Portuguese who had for three years been the Administrator, left Tangier. His departure caused few regrets. Prince Etienne de Croy Roeulx from Belgium, who had been appointed to succeed Dr. Archer, had already paid a short visit to Tangier to meet the members of the Committee of Control and his future subordinates. He was to take up his duties on July 1.
- June* On June 3 the Mendoub excused himself from attending the public celebrations of the end of Ramadan on grounds of health. He nevertheless attended his own private reception on that afternoon and the French Minister refused to go in disgust.
- July The new Administrator*
Prince de Croy, being ill, was obliged to postpone his arrival.
- Aug. Moorish tensions*
The anniversaries of the ex-Sultan's deposition and of the Aid el-Kebir provided two occasions upon which it was to be expected that the Moors would express their feelings against the present Sultan. The Committee of Control on August 5 banned all processions. The Mendoub stole away to a holiday in France. The president of the Committee of Control twice saw Nationalist leaders on August 7 and 17, and secured their agreement to co-operate in preventing disturbance. None took place.
- Sept. Nationalist disappointment*
The change of Résident-Général in Rabat had led the Nationalists in Tangier to hope that reforms of a substantial kind would be effected. This hope turned in mid-September to disappointment when M. Lacoste announced a programme of reforms, mostly economic.
- Protocols of November 10, 1952 and April 1954*
This was published on September 15.

- Nov. French Consul-General*
M. F. de Panafieu, French Consul-General in Tangier since March 1950, left on November 16.
- Moorish shops closed*
On November 18 and 19 there were strikes of varying effectiveness in the French Zone; but in Tangier there was no enthusiasm for a strike, and shops, which were allowed to close for one day on the anniversary of the accession of the ex-Sultan, were promptly reopened on the following day.
- Naval visit*
H.M.S. *Theseus* and H.M.S. *Ocean* visited Tangier from November 23 to 27.
- Dec. French Consul-General*
M. B. B. de Boissesson arrived on December 5 to take up his appointment as French

Consul-General in succession to M. de Panafieu.

The new Administrator

The President of the Committee of Control received from Prince de Croy a letter offering, for reasons of health, to be replaced as Administrator. The Committee of Control accepted this offer.

The Budget

The Legislative Assembly having failed to vote the Budget for 1955 by December 31, the Committee of Control was obliged to have recourse to the system of "douzièmes."

The Press Law

On December 15 the Committee of Control passed a modification of the so-called Press Law, which reduced the periods for which newspapers could be suppressed.

JM 1013/6

No. 42

QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT ON TANGIER FOR THE QUARTER ENDED MARCH 31, 1955

Mr. Muntz to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received April 14)

(No. 30. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tangier,
April 7, 1955.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the quarter ended the 31st of March, 1955, for which I am in large measure indebted to Mr. Edward Scott.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and the enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris, Madrid and Cairo, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ

Enclosure to No. 42

QUARTERLY POLITICAL REPORT FOR TANGIER QUARTER ENDED MARCH 31, 1955

General

The past quarter was devoid of any political incident of consequence in Tangier, and attention rested first on the new-style Budget which was not passed until February 24 (the end of 1954 being correct for the event), then on the arrival of the new Administrator on March 17, and lastly, though much less than in previous years, on the possibility of disturbances on March 30. In the middle of the quarter fears of the spread from France or Spain of a smallpox epidemic led to the taking of special steps in Tangier. No case of the disease had become known by the end of the quarter. The anniversary of the Treaty of Fez, and of the 1952 riots on March 30 passed without event. Leading Nationalists had been called to the Administrator and asked to use their influence to ensure that no incident took place. As they already intended to avoid anything unpleasant, they had no difficulty in agreeing to this request.

Moroccan Nationalism

2. The recrudescence at the end of last year of terrorist activities in Casablanca brought a number of wealthy Moors to Tangier. These included not only well known Nationalist families such as the Sebtis, who fled the French Zone after the murder—supposedly by counter-terrorists—of one of the sons, but also Francophile Moroccans who thought it wise to keep out of the way of the terrorists. A number of these families went to live in France, but the remainder took houses in Tangier, and they appeared to intend to remain here until such time as calm had been restored to French Morocco.

3. Towards the end of January the changes in the Maghzen in Tetuan caused some stir in the International Zone, as the four new Ministers included Abdel-khalek Torres, leader of the Reform Party, and Abdellah Guenoun who had lived in Tangier for many years until he decided to take refuge in Spanish Morocco after the deposition of the ex-Sultan. The Nationalists were inclined to make capital out of the enlightened attitude of the Spaniards, but as the end of the quarter brought no sign of any real change of policy, their interest died down and was replaced by the normal cynical view that no faith could be put in Spanish promises.

4. There were reports in February that Allal el Fassi, the Istiqlal leader, had written from Cairo urging the formation of terrorist groups in Tangier. A certain number of militant Nationalists were in favour of this, but Fassi is said to have been dissuaded by the Arab League, and the plan was dropped. Although no

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proof was found that the terrorists in French Morocco were receiving arms from Tangier, it was rumoured that credits for the weapons were being used in Morocco and Algeria might be being opened here.

Committee of Control

5. The Committee of Control met five times in the past quarter and spent most of its meetings in discussing money under various forms. The year's finances having started with a "douzième" for January, a second "douzième" became necessary owing to protracted consideration of the Budget in the Finance Commission of the Assembly. To this the Committee of Control necessarily agreed and an Ordinance duly appeared on January 24. It was not until February 24 that the Budget was finally approved by the Committee of Control. The feelings of the members varied considerably. Some were thankful that, long after it had become necessary, a realistic approach to the Budget had been made not only by the Assistant Administrator for Finance, but by the Legislative Assembly itself. Some were too new to Tangier to have any clear idea of the situation, while the Spanish Ambassador understandably regretted that major reductions in expenditure on public works might well cause unemployment amongst his nationals, and certainly must reduce the margin for paternalism or patronage. As the Administration's financial prognostications were probably on the pessimistic side, he can probably be relied upon to point out that a tight Budget was never a necessity and to suggest the grant of supplementary credits during the year. With this background it was not surprising to find him raising the keenest opposition when a movement started in the Committee of Control to tighten control of the finances by authorising the Administrator to ensure that sanction was given, not only by Heads of Departments, but also by an official chosen by himself, before any considerable expenditure was undertaken. Despite some heated and difficult moments in the Committee this campaign was successfully concluded by a two-thirds vote on March 24.

6. M. Halot, the new Belgian Minister, arrived on February 7.

Administration

7. The candidature of M. van de Kerchove d'Hallebast for the post of Administrator in replacement of the Prince de Croy, who was unable to come to Tangier for reasons of health, was accepted by the Committee of Control on January 26. Stories of his eccentricities, hitherto confined to the members of the Committee of Control, rapidly began to spread in the town. They were all founded on his allegedly abominable temper. When he arrived, on March 17, he was accompanied by a wife, and a number of, doubtless pedigree, hens which had already attracted the attention of the Paris Press *en route*. His arrival was thus not the solemn occasion he would appear to have wished. Nor have first impressions of his activities done much to remove doubts as to the wisdom of his selection.

8. Another new arrival, though not one accompanied by any curious tales, was that of Mr. G. Richardson on March 25, to replace Mr. N. Watson as head of the Sûreté. The latter had reached the retiring age for the Police, and the post was, of course, to be held by a British subject. M. Vermeil completed his interim tenure of the office of Administrator with the skill and good sense which he had shown during the preceding eight months. Thanks to the purchasing activities of the "Economat" (the Administration's purchasing department), and to the watchfulness of the Contrôleur Spécial des Dépenses, coupled with the attitude of economy in public expenditure enforced by the Budget, the Administration generally seemed to have begun to understand that the liberal days of the past were ended. A reduction in personnel was called for but little or no action on this had been taken by the end of the quarter.

Legislative Assembly

9. The Assembly, having failed to pass a Budget by the end of 1954, was deeply engaged in discussions on the subject during the first half of the past quarter. Mr. A. Selley, a British member, was Rapporteur of the Finance Commission, in which he played a leading part. When to this was added the fact that the Assistant Administrator for Finance, Mr. Crawshaw, was a British subject, and that in the Committee of Control a number of Ministers were content to rely on the opinion of Her Majesty's Consul-General on financial matters, it was to be supposed that a Budget on a wholly realistic basis could be expected. In the event it proved

CONFIDENTIAL

possible to put an end to a number of confusing practices, little calculated to lead to honest results, but which had prevailed for many years. It also proved possible to pass through the Commission, the Assembly and finally the Committee of Control a Budget which was genuinely balanced at figures of Frs.1,981,893,250 for Revenue and Frs.1,901,820,972 for expenditure.

Press

10. After suppression for eight months, *Maroc Demain* reappeared on January 1, thanks to the provisions of the new Ordinance. It was hoped that this would be the end of the suppressions, but on March 24 the Committee of Control voted in favour of the suppression of a comparatively new Spanish Zone paper, *Aqui Marruecos*, which had been indulging in violent abuse of the French Zone and its personalities and it was held might excite irresponsible spirits to disturb public order on March 30. The suspension of the paper in Tangier was however only for two weeks.

JM 1013/8

No. 43

POLITICAL REPORT ON TANGIER FOR THE QUARTER ENDED JUNE 30, 1955

Mr. Scott to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 7)

(No. 55. Confidential)
Sir,

Tangier,
July 4, 1955.

I have the honour to transmit herewith my Political Report for the Quarter ended the 30th of June, 1955.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and the enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris, Madrid and Cairo, to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

E. J. F. SCOTT.

Enclosure to No. 43

POLITICAL REPORT FOR TANGIER QUARTER ENDED JUNE 30, 1955

General

In most respects life in Tangier during the last quarter has been as tranquil as usual. Although there have been no more than negligible incidents affecting public order, there has been some evidence of increased activity on the part of the Nationalists. As in the previous quarter, and in the past year, the fittest course for dealing with this activity has been considered to be conversations between the authorities and the Nationalist leaders themselves. At the end of the quarter there was no evidence that any serious unpleasantness of any kind was likely to occur in the near future.

2. The Administrator, whose arrival in Tangier was mentioned in the report for the previous quarter, has continued to cause bewilderment and, on occasions, astonishment, by reason of his unpredictable behaviour. In speeches that he has made he has shown a serious interest in matters of social welfare. Possibly were he a person more easily taken seriously, his speeches would have carried some weight. As it is they are taken to be keen expressions of worthy sentiment; but as most of these call for an expenditure of sums of money which cannot at all easily be raised in Tangier, and as the Assembly is composed largely of men with business interests here, which interests might suffer from the application of a welfare programme, it does not seem likely that his ideas will bear fruit.

3. Perhaps the measure which affected the population of Tangier most widely and most directly was the need this summer, as last, to introduce cuts in the water supplies. Despite its size, Tangier continues to depend on underground sources of water and, as things are, cuts in domestic supplies from the middle of the afternoon onwards have become regular. Negotiations are in progress between the International and the Spanish Zones in order to increase Tangier's water supplies by drawing water off the boundary river.

Moroccan Nationalists

4. Abdelkhalek Torres visited Tangier from the 3rd to the 5th of April. This is the first time that the leader of the Reform Party has been here since he left for Tetuan on the 10th of February, 1952. Torres was welcomed by members of the Istiqlal Party, who appeared to have abandoned the critical attitude they adopted shortly after he accepted the portfolio for Social Affairs.

5. Since the beginning of this quarter there has been considerable increase in the activity on the part of the local committee of the Istiqlal. There have also been frequent visits from members of the party resident in Paris and in the United States. The Istiqlal delegate in New York has spent several weeks here, and discussions have taken place on the setting-up of syndicates in French Morocco and on the best means of persuading the French Government to reconsider the dynastic problem.

6. Party members have been urged to increase their subscriptions to the Istiqlal, partly in order to defray Allal el Fassi's expenses and partly to provide funds for terrorists who have taken refuge in the Spanish Zone. Special subscriptions were raised at the end of Ramadan.

7. At the end of May a movement was started to force all Moorish shops to remain closed on Fridays. Orders were passed by word of mouth and by means of anonymous letters. Other letters warned Moroccans that they should not take alcoholic drinks, smoke tobacco nor travel by bus. It was at first believed that these orders emanated from the Istiqlal Party, but the police have now been able to show that some of the anonymous letters were the product of three Moors who confessed that they were members of the Democratic Party of Independence (Shura), and that they were acting on instructions received from one Larbi el Khetabi, who acts as the Secretary of the party in Tetuan. The three men have been arrested and are now awaiting trial. They are almost illiterate and copied a *pro-forma* letter sent to them by el Khetabi who, it is understood, has himself been arrested by the Spanish authorities. While it may be true that the anonymous letters were not the product of the Istiqlal Party, it is nevertheless a fact that when they appeared the Istiqlal Party claimed that they originated from French Morocco and advised all shop owners to obey the instructions laid down in these letters. The Administrator, after briefing in the Committee of Control, called up representatives of the Istiqlal, Moroccan Unity and Shura Parties and said that he would not tolerate the use of force or threats in compelling Moors to close their shops if they did not wish to do so, but so far this has had little or no effect and all Moorish shops have remained shut on Fridays.

Committee of Control

8. The Committee of Control met eight times during the quarter; the two subjects most persistently discussed being the role of the purchasing agency (Econamat) and the duties of the Contrôleur Spécial des Dépenses. Her Majesty's Consul-General was regarded by the majority of the Committee as being the leading authority on both these subjects, and was relied upon to deal with the opposition raised by his Spanish colleague. In the hope of resolving the differences over the Econamat, the Committee asked the British and Spanish representatives to produce a joint paper. This they successfully did, thanks on the one hand to the tactics of attrition pursued by Her Majesty's Consul-General, and to the increasing co-operation with the Econamat shown by other departments of the Administration as a result of its evident success in purchasing at lower prices. At the end of the quarter a proposal for an inquiry into the success of the Econamat was temporarily shelved with the idea of setting up a Commission of Inquiry in the following quarter.

9. As regards the Contrôleur Spécial des Dépenses—a Dutchman—the Committee, to whom he is directly responsible, was chiefly responsible, was chiefly anxious to reduce his concern for petty detail and to concentrate his attention on points of major importance. As a result of work done by the Dutch Consul-General, the Committee was able to draft a letter from the President to the Administrator summing up the duties that should be undertaken by the Contrôleur Spécial in amplification of his basic terms of reference. Towards the end of the quarter, as mentioned above, questions of public order demanded the attention of the Committee, a meeting of which was attended by the Administrator and the Assistant Administrator for Moroccan Affairs, with a view to the briefing of the former for conversations with the Nationalist leaders.

10. Mr. Julius C. Holmes, the new Minister for the United States, arrived on the 1st of June. Sr. del Castillo, the Spanish Ambassador completed 10 years in charge of the Spanish Consulate-General.

Administration

11. The Legislative Assembly having invited the various departments of the Administration to try to effect economies, the first department to put forward proposals was that of Finance. The British Assistant Administrator for Finance proposed a reorganisation of his department, one of the effects of which was the removal of a senior Spanish official. Although the section from which he was to be removed was to continue to be directed by a Spanish subject (of lesser category) and was still to be composed of Spanish nationals, this particular proposal aroused consternation and even fury on the part of the Spanish Consul-General. Although the proposals were and are eminently reasonable, this paternalism on the part of the Spaniards gave rise to a stormy meeting in the Committee of Control, as well as to a difficult meeting in the appropriate Commission of the Legislative Assembly. At the end of the quarter the proposal had not yet come before the full Assembly for approval. Not least amongst the causes of Spanish annoyance was the fact that they had no particular wish to effect any economies in other departments including those (Hygiene and Municipal Works) which were under the control of Spanish subjects. At the end of the quarter the Finance Department was still the only department of the Administration to have made concrete proposals for reductions in expense.

Legislative Assembly

12. Nothing of consequence occurred during the quarter in the Legislative Assembly. On the 30th of June the official inauguration ceremony took place of the Maison de Tanger, which is the new hall and offices of the Legislative Assembly. At this ceremony, attended by the members of the Committee of Control, the judges and other authorities, the Mendoub made a speech in Arabic and in French inaugurating this unnecessarily grandiose building. His speech was followed by that of the Vice-President of the Assembly and that of the Administrator. The Spanish Consul-General was put out because only two of the three official languages were used and it was amusing to see, in the *España* of the following day, that alongside the article reporting the inauguration of the Maison de Tanger, there was an article criticising those who ignored the fact that Spanish, after Arabic, was the most widely used language in the Zone, which ended with a remark to the effect that those whom the cap fitted should attend to these observations.

International Jurisdiction

13. On the 17th of June, Mr. Bridge, the newly appointed Secrétaire-Greffier, arrived in Tangier to take up his appointment at the Courts, in replacement of the late Mr. Arias.

Naval Visits

14. Between the 5th and 7th of April, Admiral Sir Guy Grantham, K.C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., flying his flag in H.M.S. *Glasgow* and accompanied by H.M.S. *Surprise*, his despatch vessel, paid a most successful visit to Tangier.

15. On the 13th of June, Vice-Admiral Barjot, commanding the Mediterranean Squadron of the French Fleet, paid a visit to Tangier in the cruiser *George Leygues*.

Press

16. Mr. Jean Marin, Director-General of Agence France Presse, paid a visit to Tangier between the 4th and 6th of May, in the course of which he paid calls on the senior authorities of the Zone. On the 29th of June the Spanish journalists who had been attending the 13th Assembly of the National Association of Press Federation of Spain visited Tangier for the day. There was no change in the policies of the local Press. During the quarter permission was given by the Mendoub for a new newspaper to be published by the editor of the former *Eshab*. It must be presumed that this new newspaper, when it appears, will be backed by a subsidy from the Mendoubia, as the Nationalist element of the Moroccan population will certainly not be anxious to read it.

JF 1072/18

No. 44

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND
Mr. JULIUS HOLMES, UNITED STATES CONSUL-GENERAL IN
TANGIER, ON OCTOBER 6, 1955

Mr. Macmillan to Sir Roger Makins (Washington)

(No. 639. Secret)
Sir,

*Foreign Office,
October 6, 1955.*

The United States Ambassador brought Mr. Julius Holmes, the United States Consul-General in Tangier, to see me on the 6th of October. Mr. Holmes had been discussing the North African situation with Mr. Dulles and Mr. Merchant and had been asked to see me on his way back to Tangier to explain how American thoughts were moving.

2. Mr. Holmes said that the French were trying to set their faces against the tide of nationalism in Morocco instead of trying to come to reasonable terms with it while there was time. This policy could not be successful; the force of Islamic nationalism was too strong. French repression after the 20th of August uprising was very severe; according to his information some 6,000-8,000 had been killed by them.

3. M. Faure's Aix proposals for a Council of Regency and a Moroccan Government had been reasonable but they were at once torpedoed by members of his own Cabinet who had telephoned to their friends in Morocco to stiffen Ben Arafat.

4. The French were now in a very difficult position. The deposition of Ben Youssef had created a Moroccan nationalism which up to that time had not really existed. The moderate Moroccan leaders were capable of forming a government and were of reasonably good quality. But during the time when they had been imprisoned by the French in the past other and more violent nationalist leaders had arisen. The moderates could still control the situation but their influence was less strong and French actions were seeing to it that these leaders would before long lose control. That in turn would mean that the French themselves would lose control; indeed guerrilla warfare was becoming endemic. The French would then be forced to give way under duress instead of themselves taking the lead in introducing reforms and constitutional progress.

5. This situation was of serious concern to the United States and United Kingdom as it betokened a weakening of the N.A.T.O. flank. Meanwhile the Russians were becoming active. Quite apart from arms deals the Soviet Government were now to open a Legation in Libya and they were sending a delegation to Liberia next January for the inauguration of President Tubman. They could also seek to take up a seat in the Commission of Control at Tangier. It seemed clear that the Russians were starting a big effort in the area and the present situation in North Africa would be of great assistance to them.

6. Mr. Dulles thought that it was necessary for some step to be taken to try to bring home the seriousness of the situation to the French and in particular to stiffen the French Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. An opportunity for this might be the next meeting between Ministers on the 24th of October. It might be possible to achieve some effect by stressing the danger to the N.A.T.O. flank and the evidence of increased Soviet activities. Mr. Holmes thought that any approach made to the French Prime Minister should not be a joint one as that would look like "ganging up" and it would be better if Mr. Dulles and I could speak separately. It was of course uncertain whether the present French Government would still be in power but it seemed possible that no one else would wish for the present to take on the unpleasant task of dealing with the thorny North African problem.

7. I said that I would carefully think over what Mr. Holmes had told me and that I would convey my views through the American Ambassador.

8. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Paris.

I am, &c.

HAROLD MACMILLAN.

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JM 1013/10

No. 45

POLITICAL REPORT ON TANGIER FOR THE QUARTER ENDED
SEPTEMBER 30, 1955

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Macmillan. (Received October 13)

(No. 55. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tangier,
October 10, 1955.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my political report for the quarter ended September 30, 1955.

2. I am sending copies of this despatch and the enclosure to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris, Madrid and Cairo, to his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Rabat, Tetuan, Algiers and Tunis, and to the Staff Officer (Intelligence), Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure

POLITICAL REPORT FOR TANGIER
QUARTER ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1955

General

From March 1952, when there were serious riots involving a few deaths, until August 1955, there have been periods of tension in Tangier, and precautions duly taken, but no real demonstrations until this last quarter. This has been considerably more animated, with the closing of shops for political purposes, with Nationalist demonstrations on August 20 and 21, luckily this time of a comparatively harmless nature, and during the second half of September, with rumours of the arrival in retirement of the Sultan, who eventually arrived on October 1 not having officially and finally left the throne. This change in the atmosphere has been due entirely to the echoes in Tangier of events—or lack of them—in Paris, Rabat and elsewhere. Very substantial increases in Nationalist activities and sentiments stole the limelight from local affairs in the Committee of Control, the Administration and the Press. Differences of opinion on these happenings between the French and the Spanish were, as was to be expected, ventilated in the Committee of Control. For the rest, the Committee was occupied with the chronic bickerings about money and the always surprising performances of the Administrator. In general in the Committee the United States, United Kingdom and Portuguese representatives were to be found trying to help the French in so far as is possible locally in dealing with their difficult problems, and discreetly urging them to do so. This group of three, which largely dominated the Committee during the quarter, was usually joined by the Belgian and Dutch representatives, and, once the decision was obvious, by the Italian. It was surprising how persistently, and often unnecessarily, the Spanish representative spoke in such a way as to find himself isolated.

Moroccan Nationalists and Nationalism

2. The activities of the Nationalists in Tangier, though considerable, were overshadowed by those of their compatriots elsewhere to whom some of them paid visits.

3. During July the movement to shut Moorish shops for political reasons was intensified. Those who did not comply were threatened and two or three found their establishments set on fire. Before July 30, the feast of Aid el Kebir, word went round that a three-day period of mourning, with all Moorish shops, markets and cafés closed, was the appropriate form of celebration. Though closing was effective on the first two days, the third day saw a weakening. It was

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established, however, that on Fridays Moorish shops, hitherto open for seven days a week, should remain closed: this move was far from popular with traders, who disliked losing money for political reasons.

4. It seemed during August and September that the Istiqlal leaders did not in fact wish to encourage demonstrations or disorder, though the attitude of the Unity Party (Mokhtar Ahardan) was more obscure. This party is of little importance in comparison with the others and used to be very short of cash. Lately they seem to have received funds of origin unknown, but it is at least possible that they come from the neighbouring Zone. Some of the party's telegrams and "communiqués" coincided in an interesting way with Spanish statements and wishes.

5. August started tragically when a young Moroccan ran amok, stabbing non-Moslems of whom four died and five were badly injured, the dead including a British subject. The existing tension then mounted gradually with the approach of August 20, anniversary of the deposition of the ex-Sultan.

6. Although it was probably true to say that the majority of the Moroccan population did not want trouble, it became clear that demonstrations on August 20 were highly probable. On the previous day the police detained a handful of ring-leaders, and this may have helped to minimise the demonstrations which none the less took place. Though no damage was done to property and the casualties were few and slight, the demonstrators moved about the town shouting slogans for several hours. Inspired by their success, they repeated the performance on the following day, when similar demonstrations resulted in a few rather more, but not very, serious casualties, at the hands of the police.

7. Meanwhile, the French plans for Morocco had mentioned the date of September 12 as that by which reforms would be undertaken. As time passed with no progress, but with increasing evidence of the activities of the *Présence Française*, it became clear that some trouble might be expected on that day. The dynastic question and the possibility of the arrival of Moulay Ben Arafa in Tangier monopolised attention, while exasperation with the French (which was not confined to the Moroccan population) became increasingly noticeable.

8. In the event, the demonstrations of September 12 were of little consequence. A few small groups of boys shouted slogans and were easily dispersed.

9. There followed a period of three weeks of rumour and confusion which, though partly dispelled by the arrival of Moulay Ben Arafa in Tangier on October 1, was not resolved at the end of the quarter, which closed in an atmosphere of gloom and discouragement.

10. During the quarter members of the Reform Party in Tetuan and the Istiqlal Party in Tangier exchanged a number of visits. Dr. Benjelloun, local head of Istiqlal, was believed to be opposed to any kind of violence and to have the support of M. Balafrej for this attitude. The same was believed at the beginning of the quarter of Mokhtar Ahardan, who, in the absence in exile of Mekki Naciri since 1953, had been the local head of the United Moroccan Party of Independence (the only party with headquarters in Tangier). By September, however, there were some doubts as to his feelings on this point, but there has been no act to justify this doubt, nor any confirmation that the party's new-found affluence is due to funds received from the Spanish authorities.

Committee of Control

11. The Committee was concerned during the quarter primarily with questions of public order and the possible effects in Tangier of events in French North Africa. The tendency of the Administrator to seek special powers, reinforcements, &c., caused a number of discussions on public order, of arrangements which were more properly matters for the Administrator, his assistants and the Heads of the Police Forces than for the Committee. The only action taken on these requests was to ask the two neighbouring Zones on September 10 to supply, as temporary reinforcements for the Special Police, up to 75 men from each Zone. The French reinforcements arrived and were useful on September 30 and October 1 when the Sultan arrived. The Spanish authorities chose to hold their reinforcements at the frontier where, they said, they would be quickly available in case of need. This decision by the Spanish authorities not to

maintain the equilibrium of French-Spanish forces, on which they have always insisted in the past, coupled with the fact that they had been forecasting troubles here, in particular should the Sultan retire to Tangier, led to uneasy speculation as to their real intentions. It may, however, be merely that they, like everyone else, expected Ben Arafa to arrive here and did not wish to have Spanish forces guarding him in Tangier.

12. The Spanish Ambassador, acting on instructions from San Sebastian, proposed in mid-September that the Committee of Control should ask the French authorities to postpone taking action to transfer Ben Arafa to Tangier on the grounds that public order here might be disturbed. The Committee rejected this proposal.

13. On other subjects, the usual disagreements largely on money matters between, very roughly, the Spanish representative on the one side and the rest on the other continued. Requests from the Administration to grant credits by ordinance for minor public works, and for uniforms for the Special Police, were turned down on the general principle that the voting of credits is for the Legislative Assembly rather than the Committee. In fact, the Administration could quite well have asked the Assembly for these credits before it rose, and will now have to wait for the new session in October. It is satisfactory that the Committee is adopting this policy as a guiding principle. But this, and the realisation that he can by no means always control the Assembly, is probably the reason why the Spanish Ambassador has lately complained that Spain is inadequately represented in that body.

14. Reports by the *Contrôleur Spéciale de Dépenses* of irregularities in awarding contracts and in certain public works came to the Committee. These questions should have been examined and dealt with by the Administrator. But he has unfortunately regarded the *Contrôleur* as an unpleasant and unnecessary nuisance. How the Committee could persuade the Administrator to do his duty on this subject was a problem unsolved at the end of the quarter, and looked to be insoluble as long as the present Administrator was here.

15. All members of the Committee were conscious of the intentions of the Spanish Ambassador to use the need of Tangier for supplies of water from the Spanish Zone in order to obtain certain concessions, including posts for individuals, in a way generally recognised as blatant blackmail. Of the three concessions he demanded, one, namely domination of the water and electricity monopoly, is no longer within his reach; another, domination of the *Oeuvre Antituberculeuse*, was dealt with in the Committee in a way which should have discouraged him; and the third, the retention by a Spaniard of an unnecessary post in the Department of Finance remained to be decided by the Legislative Assembly, probably in October.

16. The Spanish representatives made themselves more unpopular by allowing gambling at the Spanish Club during a Pigeon Shooting meeting, despite the fact that they have been practically the only members of the Committee of Control who have consistently refused to consider changing the law prohibiting gambling. The Spanish Ambassador admitted that the law had been violated. This open defiance on his part, indicating that he could disregard the law, caused strong feelings.

Administration

17. The influence of events in the French Zone and the question of public order caused the Administrator to make some remarkable requests and speeches to the Committee of Control. In these he disclosed a surprising ignorance of his own organisation, and a remarkable capacity for disordered thought and speech. Requests for powers similar to those given to the Administrator in 1939, for powers to requisition, for security reasons, a building which his own Police chiefs regarded as unnecessary and unsuitable, for powers to arm and require service of any individual to guard buildings, for an increase in the General Police, and for an increase in the Special Police fell upon the Committee one after the other. All except one, namely that in September for temporary reinforcements for the Special Police, were refused or evaded.

18. The absence on holiday in July of the French and British assistant Administrators, leaving the Administrator to be advised only by the Spanish and

the very ancient Italian assistant, made that month one of the most chaotic administratively. There was some slight improvement in August on their return, but as the quarter went on it became clear that no one could really foresee what the Administrator was going to do next. There was no suggestion that he lacked courage, or that he was corrupt or insincere; but his capacity for solitary imaginative thought, and his habit of acting before consulting his advisers, have imposed a serious strain on a machine which is already cumbrous and difficult to work. This, coupled with his inability to appreciate Spanish motives and intentions, has caused him to be widely regarded as too dangerous to be funny. In September the majority of the Legislative Assembly were lying in wait for him on the budget next quarter, hoping that he would give them the chance to make life so unpleasant that he would resign. Given his character and the fact that he is a Belgian official in retirement, this seemed unlikely. At least five members of the Committee of Control believed that he should be removed, but it remained to be seen what action they will be ready to ask their Governments to take in Brussels or if they would, failing this, be prepared to make use of Article 35, paragraph 6, of the Statute to secure his removal.

Legislative Assembly

19. The Assembly, after a stormy meeting at the end of July on the water problem, eventually passed the law modifying the constitution and extending the life of the water monopoly, and adjourned at the beginning of August until October.

Naval Visits

20. Admiral Ofstie, in the U.S. *Salem*, commanding the American Sixth Fleet, visited Tangier from September 10 to 12.

Press

21. There was no change in the general lines followed by the local French and Spanish papers. The former did its best not to take sides between liberal and diehard French opinion. Both reported events in Cyprus, probably with some satisfaction, but without too much loss of objectivity.

22. A little flurry was caused on August 20 when *El Dia*, published in Tetuan partly in Spanish, partly in Arabic, was found to have sent to Tangier on the previous evening, large numbers of a special edition, which in the text and in the picture was so much for the ex-Sultan and against the French that it was obviously a danger to public order. An emergency meeting of the Committee of Control could do little as many copies of the papers had already been sold. A discussion on possible punitive action by prohibiting future issues came to an end when the Spanish Ambassador offered to ask the High Commissioner in Tetuan to use his "influence" to see that a similar violation of Article 10 of the Statute did not occur again.

UNESCO

A meeting of experts under the auspices of UNESCO "to promote international co-operation between Film and Television" was held between September 19-30. This took place with some ceremony and festivities to the satisfaction of many local inhabitants who regarded it as a sign that their international city may one day be regarded as a very suitable place for such meetings and therefore be able to extract some income from them. The meeting was attended by representatives of 15 nations, including the USSR, but the final communiqué did not indicate that anything more significant than an agreeable get-together had taken place.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JM 1012/4

No. 46

REPORT ON LEADING PERSONALITIES IN TANGIER, 1955

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Macmillan. (Received September 10)

(No. 71. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *September 7, 1955.*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on leading personalities at Tangier for the year 1955.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure

EUROPEANS

1. Aldegunde, Reverend Father Francisco

Spaniard. Franciscan. Succeeded Father Betanzos as Bishop of Tangier and Spanish Morocco with title of Bishop of Fussala. Pleasant middle-aged man who seems broad-minded and friendly. The able and intelligent Padre Lopez continues as his secretary.

2. Andreu, José Abelló

Managing director of the Banco Inmobiliario. Was a Republican, but is quite well thought of at Spanish Consulate-General, where he uses every possible means to secure his rehabilitation and permission to return to Spain.

3. Apostoli, Giovanni

Italian judge, appointed in succession to Fernando Malmusi, when the latter was recalled on account of his Fascist tendencies in 1945. Apostoli is not a brilliant jurist nor an outstanding personality, but he appears to enjoy a fair reputation for honesty if not for morals. He is a bachelor.

4. Arcos y Elio, José Luis los

Appointed Assistant Administrator for Health and Labour August 1953. Born 1913. Served in Spanish diplomatic service at Casablanca, Tetuan, Fez, Damascus. Married. Speaks English, French, Arabic. He is regarded by the Spaniards as something of an expert on Arab affairs. His wife is considerably more intelligent than the usual Spanish woman.

5. Armand, Marcel Philippe

Born 1902. Inspector of Primary Education in Sherifian Schools, Tangier. French member of Legislative Assembly. Married. Three children.

6. Bird, William

American Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly. Journalist. Runs a small printing press and is co-director of the *Tangier Gazette*. A chronic grumbler with democracy on the brain. Married.

7. Buiskool, J. A. E.

Appointed Netherlands judge on International Court, Tangier, in 1953. Member of the Magistrature of the Netherlands Union. 1947 President of the Court in Surinam. Speaks good English and is scrupulously correct in legal affairs.

8. Caillat

Appointed Director of French Public Instruction in Tangier in 1953 in succession to M. Bastianelli. Previously in charge of the Lycée at Fez. Speaks excellent English.

9. Cherif, Mohamed el Hachemi

Has been barrister at the Mixed Tribunal since 1942 or earlier. Belongs to an Algerian family and is thus a French subject. Very clever and entirely unscrupulous. Is said to be married to a Frenchwoman whom he defended in 1942, when she was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for murdering her husband. Has been reported both as a Nationalist and as a Communist sympathiser, but is in fact probably 100 per cent. self-interested. Was appointed one of the French representatives on the Legislative Assembly, in which he has since been prominent.

10. Crambes, Dr.

President of the Anciens Combattants. He was French Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly, but following serious disagreements with the French Consul-General was not renominated in 1953.

11. Crawshaw, Harold Godfrey

Aged 52. Appointed Assistant Administrator for Finance August 1953. Member of the Scottish Institute of Chartered Accountants. 1928-39 worked as a chartered accountant. Chief Accountant, Allied Commission, Italy, with the rank of colonel. 1945-53 Director of Finance and then Secretary-General, Inter-Allied Reparation Agency, Brussels. Married. No children.

12. Crichton-Stuart, Lord Rhidian

Appointed to the Legislative Assembly as one of the three British members in 1953. Born 1917, fifth son of the fourth Marquis of Bute. Educated Ampleforth and Magdalen, Cambridge. Black Watch 1938, transferred Royal Artillery 1939 and to Reserve as captain 1948. Married 1939 daughter of Netherlands Minister, Tangier. Two sons, one daughter. Has property and business in Tangier.

13. Doolittle, Hooker Austin

United States Consul in Tangier for several years before the war. Was appointed consul-general, Tunis, in 1940 and subsequently served in Egypt and Pakistan and on a mission for the United Nations in Indonesia. Retired from the Foreign Service in 1951 and returned to Tangier where he has settled down. Is one of the American members of the

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Legislative Assembly. Doolittle has a good knowledge of Morocco and a forceful personality which sometimes brings him into conflict with the United States Legation. He is pro-Nationalist, and inclined to be indiscreet in his friendships, but this is largely due to his avowed dislike of convention and protocol. Married to a White Russian.

14. Elias, Wilhelmus Hermannus Julius

Appointed Contrôleur Spécial de Dépenses, Tangier, 1953. Born 1901. Educated Amsterdam. 1927-42 held number of posts in financial administration of N.E.I. 1942-45 Japanese concentration camp. 1946-51 resumed activities in N.E.I. Retired 1952. Married. One child.

15. Girault, Cmt.

Appointed second-in-command of General Police in 1953. Born 1912; holds a diploma in law. Entered the gendarmerie in 1937. Served in the Garde Républicaine in Paris and took part in the liberation of Paris. After having assisted in the reorganisation of the Paris police he was posted to Algiers in 1951, as head of the Military Cabinet of the Governor-General of Algiers.

16. González Gordon, Pedro (Marqués de Torresoto)

Spaniard, born about 1886. Head of the sherry firm of González Byass. Very wealthy. Very pro-British, speaks English perfectly, related to the Gilbey family. Monarchist and anti-Falange. Has a large family.

17. Hubert, Paul

Appointed Contrôleur of the Mendoubia in 1950. Is also *Commissaire du Gouvernement* at the Mendoub's Tribunal. Is rarely met outside French circles, but is believed to co-operate closely with the local French in suppressing Nationalist activities.

18. Jardim, Achiano Vera

Appointed Portuguese judge on International Court, Tangier 1953. Born 1911. Educated at Coimbra University. Joined Portuguese magistrature 1937. Became a judge 1946. Since 1949 has been assistant to the Attorney-General at Lisbon. Is scrupulously correct in legal affairs.

19. Jorro y Andreu, José

Spanish vice-president of the Legislative Assembly, and president of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce. Representative in Morocco of Juan March. Has large business interests in Tangier and owns a considerable amount of property.

20. Kataros, John

Of Greek origin, has been naturalised as a British subject. The Kataros family have been connected with the British Legation and subsequently with the consulate-general for the past sixty years, and were generally thought in Tangier to be British. They talk English at home. John Kataros is secretary to the Legislative Assembly.

21. Van de Kerchove d'Hallebast, Robert

Born 1890. Joined the Belgian Foreign Service in 1920, and after many postings was appointed Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., in Moscow, 1942-44. Belgian member on United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan 1949. Ambassador in Ankara 1951 until appointed Administrator in Tangier 1955. A somewhat eccentric personality who professes to dislike administration, and whose constant blunders are but little redeemed by his sincere, though impractical, interest in social welfare. His wife, of Russian origin, is, if anything, more tactless than her husband.

22. De Laborde y Roca Tallada, Carlos Munoz, Conde de Viñaza

Appointed Chief Engineer, Municipal Works, November 15, 1948. Born 1914, Spanish. Belongs to a good family and is one of the leading Monarchists in Tangier. An honest man, but not noted for efficiency at his job. Married and has a very large family.

23. Lagergren, Gunnar

Appointed Swedish judge on International Court, Tangier, in 1953. Born 1912. Bachelor of Arts 1934 and of Law 1937, University of Stockholm. 1937-43 served on various courts and Court of Appeal, Stockholm. 1944 Swedish Legation, Berlin. 1948 associate judge, Court of Appeal, Stockholm. 1947, 49 and 50 studies of international law London, Rome, Paris. Is completely independent and scrupulously correct in legal affairs. Married 1943. Both he and his wife, who was partly educated in England, speak English.

24. Lemass, Edwin

British judge in the Mixed Tribunal. Appointed 1st November, 1949.

Born 1890. Called to the Bar in Dublin 1912. Served in the army from 1914-18. From 1920-49 was employed in the Egyptian judicial service where he became a judge of the Mixed Court in 1932. He is good-natured and easy going, but his lapses from tact in handling his fellow judges and the lawyers have caused embarrassment on several occasions. Married.

25. Marchegiano, Giuseppe

Appointed Assistant Administrator for Judicial Affairs following the reforms of 1953. Was judicial adviser to the Italian Consulate-General. Is not a man of strong character and is entirely dominated by an energetic, ambitious wife whose political loyalties are of the most ephemeral nature but are none the less vehement whilst they last.

26. Martinez Gomez, Lieutenant-Colonel D. Pedro

Born in 1908. Served as an infantry officer in Spain and Morocco 1923-40. Vice-Consul in Rabat 1940-46. High Commissioner's staff in Tetuan 1946-55, when he was appointed Head of the Mixed Information Bureau in Tangier.

27. Melenotte, Raoul

Chief engineer of the Public Works of the Zone. Pleasant to talk to, hard working but is said to take bribes.

28. Menegaux, Pierre

Appointed French judge on International Court. Born 1904. Fought for the Free French. 1945, Director of Personnel at Ministry of Justice. 1951, served on Court of Appeal and later as counsellor in the Court of Cassation, Paris. Intelligent and reliable judge. Speaks English.

29. Merry, Diaz Manuel

Spanish judge of the International Court, born about 1886. An able lawyer, but given to deciding cases on grounds other than the rule of law. Is member of Court of Appeal.

30. Regil, Eugenio Mora

Appointed Spanish judge on International Court at Tangier 1953. Born 1901. Has held appointments as judge at Larache and Tetuan.

31. Rodière, Yves

French procureur of the Mixed Court, born in 1885. Member of French judicial service. Able and very hard-working. Has spent most of his career in Morocco. Reputed to be corruptible.

32. Sagardoy Allo, Matias, Lieutenant-Colonel

Appointed Commander of the Special Police created in 1953. Speaks no English and practically no French. Married.

33. Sedillo, Juan A. A.

Appointed American judge on International Court at Tangier 1953. Born in New Mexico 1902. Member of Bars of New Mexico and Supreme Court United States. Practised in United States and Denmark. Served with the United States forces in Europe in Judge Advocate-General Corps. Served as Associate Justice of Court of Appeals in Germany 1948-51 and as Legal Adviser to State Department 1951-53. Married. One child.

34. Selley, Alan

Appointed to the Legislative Assembly as one of the three British members in October 1949. Manager of the Bank of British West Africa. Intends to retire here.

35. Vallet, Jean

Born 23rd May, 1885. Appointed by Vichy as French judge at Tribunal Mixte. In 1940 was head of local "Action Française en Égypte" and was at that time described as one of the most dangerous Frenchmen in Egypt. Stated on all sides to be anti-British and to have been 100 per cent. collaborationist. Is nevertheless reported to be a reasonably good judge.

36. Vermeil, Edmond

Born Peone 5th October, 1900. Entered the "contrôleur civil" services and was posted to Rabat from 1939-43. After two years in the army he returned to Rabat in 1945 as Director of Information at the Residency General. Was at one time pro-Vichy, but subsequently took part in the Italian campaign against the Germans. Is efficient and agreeable. Was Acting Administrator for last seven months of 1954 and did very well.

37. Villarejo de Los Campos, Francesco

Spaniard, born about 1900. Procureur of the Mixed Court. Has British wife of Gibraltar origin and is believed to be not unfriendly.

38. Wauters, Alfred

Born 1912. Belgian judge of the Mixed Court appointed to replace M. de Foy. Worked with Belgian Government in United Kingdom from 1943. Was Premier Substitut du Procureur du Roi up to date of his appointment to Tangier. Married an English wife. Is pleasant and useful, but not a forceful character.

39. Wilbers, François

Appointed Director of General Police in 1953. Was one of the Belgians appointed to the International Police in 1945 with the rank of commissaire. He was in charge of the Sûreté from 1945-53 and enjoyed the reputation of being a conscientious and honest officer. He is pro-British but does not get on too well with his Spanish colleagues.

JEWS

1. Abensur, Aaron, O.B.E.

British subject, born 1887. Owns, with his brother Moses (Maurice), the local banking-house of Moses Pariente, established in 1844, with which this consulate-general and the former British Legation have banked for at least sixty years. Father naturalised in 1896 by special Act of Parliament on account of the family's long services to the Crown. Of undoubted loyalty, he is always ready to help Her

Majesty's Consulate-General and is a very sound and reliable banker. British Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly. Awarded the O.B.E. in 1953.

2. Abensur, Maurice Moses

Younger brother of No. 1 and partner in the firm of Moses Pariente. Served in Navy in First World War. Spent the war years with his family in the United States and as a result his wife and sons at any rate have become somewhat Americanised.

3. Abensur, Joe

Son of No. 2. Is a most efficient and likeable young man who has recently done much good work for the British charities funds. Bids fair to become a valuable member of the British community.

4. Abster, Jacob

Banker. Polish born, 30th December, 1901. Has a very bad reputation but is generally regarded as most able business man in Tangier. Has now become a considerable property owner. Does not entertain and appears to have no social life outside banking circles.

5. Bendrao Ruah, Isaac

Born Tangier, 26th December, 1900. Said to be richest man in Tangier, very friendly with the more influential section of the Spanish colony.

6. Hassan, Joseph

Portuguese subject, born 1888. Very rich Head of the Hassan family, who own the Salvador Hassan Bank. Bank's Tetuan agency acted as Franco's bankers in the civil war, other banks in the Spanish Zone being either foreign and non-interventionist or else controlled by Republican Madrid. Portuguese representative on the Legislative Assembly. His nephew, Salvador, was educated at Cambridge and acts as his uncle's substitute in the Legislative Assembly.

7. Pinto, Jack

Partner in the firm of Toledano Pinto. Wife is an American. His daughter is married to Maurice Abensur's son. Shrewd business man; is particularly popular with the Americans.

8. Salama Benatar, Isaac

Jew with Spanish nationality and very popular with the Spanish. Born 1901. He and his younger brother, Samuel, are partners in the firm of Jacob J. Salama, with branches in Tangier and the Spanish Zone.

The Salama brothers are very closely associated with Rafael Alvarez Claro, the Delegado de Economia in Tetuan and practically have the monopoly for the importation of oil and sugar into Spanish Morocco.

The Salama family is one of the richest though not most highly regarded Jewish families in Tangier.

MOSLEMS

1. Abderrahman Anegay

Secretary-general of the Istiqlal Party in Tangier and takes charge of the party's activities during Allal el Fassi's absence. Intelligent, with an excellent command of French. One of the more reasonable of the Moroccan Nationalists. Has been in the United States for over a year, his passport having been annulled by the French.

2. Si Ahmed ben Hajj Majammad Tazi

The Sultan's representative or Mendoub. Born in 1901. Fought on Abdelkrim's side in the Riff

campaign, 1926. Appointed Governor of Tangier prison, 1928. Later held post of Second Khalifa to his father the late Mendoub until both were expelled in 1941. While in Rabat was Directeur de Ravitaillement. Returned with Mendoub on 11th October, 1945. More or less ran the Mendoub until latter's death in February 1948, since when he has been acting in his place. Si Ahmed Tazi is intelligent, speaks good French and plays the French game assiduously. He has inherited a large fortune from his father and is almost certainly not above grinding the faces of the faithful. For two years after his father's death the Sultan refused to appoint him Mendoub in spite of pressure from the French and he continued to do the work of the post as First Khalifa. His appointment in February 1950 caused him great pleasure. His outlook is very conservative like that of most rich Moors, but he is shrewd and hard-working. Transferred his allegiance (rather reluctantly) to the new Sultan in 1953 and has been very unpopular with the Moorish element ever since.

3. Si Mohammed ben Abderrahman Saidi

The Mendoub's Acting First Khalifa. Born about 1896. Native of Tangier. Son-in-law of Si Kaddor ben Ghabrit, the Sultan's "chef du protocole" in Paris. Has held minor posts at Mogador, Meknes and Rabat. Appointed to present position on 11th October, 1945. Modest, unassuming and friendly.

4. Si Mohammed Guennoun

Mendoub's second Khalifa since December 1954, born about 1908 in Fez but lived mostly in Tangier. Was Cadi's Khalifa before 1939, later notary. Is brother of No. 14, but does not share his political opinions.

5. Abdeslam Benani

Appointed Cadi of Tangier at beginning of 1954. Was one of the Oulemas who signed the deposition of the Sultan. Was formerly Cadi of Fez, but left for fear of terrorism.

6. Moulay Ahmed el-Amrani

Mohtassib of Tangier, appointed 11th October, 1945. Born in 1871. Native of Fez. After learning trade of carpenter, became successively scribe to Mohtassib, Khalifa to Mohtassib and finally Mohtassib (head of the trade guilds).

7. Si Abdessalam Shebaa

Born in 1881. Member of good old Tangier family. Holds post of "Bou Mouarit" (Curateur des Successions vacantes) and is also member of the Legislative Assembly. At the request of Mendoub remained in Tangier during Spanish occupation to help with supply questions. Dependable and friendly.

8. Moulay Ahmed ben Hajj Abdessalem el-Wazzani

Is present Cherif of Wazzan. He succeeded his elder brother Moulay Ali who died a year or two ago. He was born on the 6th September, 1876, of a British mother. He resides in Tangier. Is pro-French.

9. Sidi Ahmed ben Sidi Mohammed ben Siddiq el-Ghomari

Born in 1901. Chief of the Derkaoua Fraternité. Studied at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, and is anxious to return to Egypt. Clever and untrustworthy, ready to work for highest bidder. Organiser of demonstration involving procession of some 3,000 natives through streets in 1947. In February 1950 he was accused by the Spaniards of organising armed incursions into the Spanish Zone.

Rather than hand him over to the Spanish authorities the International Administration instituted an enquiry as a result of which he was arrested and confessed to having arranged the smuggling of arms across the frontier, but claimed that he had acted at the request of the Spanish authorities. It seems likely that in fact he was the victim of *agents provocateurs*. He was condemned to three and a half years' imprisonment and sent to serve his sentence in the French Zone, where his sentence was served in agreeable fashion. Returned to Tangier in 1953. Expelled in October 1953. Tried to return in May 1954 but was not allowed in. Has been in French Zone ever since. Both Spanish and French are frightened of him with good reason, as he will work for or against either or both according to the price offered.

10. Si Abderrahman Menebhi

Son of the late Sir Mehdi-el-Menebhi, G.C.M.G., and brother-in-law of the Pasha of Marrakesh, El Glaoui. Enjoys a certain prestige as the son of his father, but not very reliable or of strong character. Though not an active Nationalist, he has allowed them the use of his house as a meeting place. As a result he was summoned before the Mixed Court in June 1951, with other Nationalists, and questioned on the score of alleged illegal political activities. He was one of the very few Tangier Moroccan notables who refused to sign the act of allegiance to the new Sultan in August 1953.

11. Hadj Mohamed ben Makhi Benani

Born 1902. Director of Banque Moghreb, in which the bulk of the Istiqlal funds are deposited. Subject is himself a prominent member of Istiqlal and very wealthy and influential. Has been one of the Moorish members of the Legislative Assembly since 1945.

12. Abdelatif ben Hachem Benjelloun

Has been the leading member of the Istiqlal committee in Tangier for the last two years, exercising a moderating influence over his more ardent colleagues. Has consistently opposed all public manifestations. Visits Tetuan frequently and keeps in close touch with the Reform Party there. Is a doctor of medicine and runs a clinic for indigent Moors (financed by party funds). Has a Swiss wife.

13. Sidi Mohammed al-Mekki Nasiri

Born about 1907, formerly resident in Tetuan. Founder and leader of Moroccan Unity Party, editor of party's newspapers (*Al-Wahdah al-Maghribia*, suppressed by Spanish authorities, Tetuan; *La Voix du Maroc*, in 1947 by Committee of Control, Tangier). Founder and director of Moulay al-Mahdi Institute, Tetuan, with branch in Tangier. Studied in Cairo 1927-31 and revisited Egypt 1937-38 (where he still has good contacts) to found Beit-al-Maghrib. Has the reputation of being more venal than the other Nationalist leaders. In 1950 he started a new paper, *Minbar al-Sha'ab*, which was subsidised by the French authorities, and tried to start a new political party in the French Zone to work for Franco-Moroccan co-operation. In this he was unsuccessful, and at the time of the dispute between the Sultan and the Resident General, he burned his boats with the French and returned to Tangier, where he joined the other Nationalist leaders in forming the National Front. (See under No. 15.) He went to the United States in 1952 and his passport having been cancelled has been unable to return to Morocco. Is at present in Egypt.

14. Si Abdullah Guennoun

Born about 1909. Taught in Franco-Arab school, left in order to start a "free" (i.e., not officially controlled) school 1937. New school built by public subscription and opened 1947. French and Spaniards have both sought his allegiance, but he is reputed to be non-political. In any case, the French are much less suspicious of his activities than they are of Nasiri's. He refused to sign the act of allegiance to the new Sultan in August 1953 and went to live at Tetuan. Was appointed Minister of Justice in the Khalifian Government in January 1955, but is said to be very dissatisfied with his position, which is little more than a sinecure.

15. Si Ahmed Erkaina

Born about 1907. Owns large bakery. Probably most intelligent and outspoken of six Moorish members of Legislative Assembly. Appointed Nadir del Habus on the death of his brother Mohamed.

16. Abd-el-Kebir ben Hafid Fasi

Cousin of Allal Fasi and brother-in-law of Abderrahman Menebhi. Came to Tangier from French Zone in 1951, as correspondent of *El Alam*, Istiqlal newspaper in Rabat, now banned. Has lived here ever since, being afraid to return to French Zone. Is a member of Istiqlal, but moderate in his attitude. Has recently proved very friendly and helpful.

17. Abd-el-Khalek Torres

Leader of the (Spanish Zone) Nationalist Reform Party. Joined other Nationalist leaders in forming the National Front in April 1951. He has been in and out of favour with the Spanish and French and according to the state of affairs, has been exiled in Tangier and found it inadvisable to remain in Tangier, Tetuan being safer. It is said that he is not a good Moslem and this does him harm with his stricter co-religionists. Has lost a lot of face lately with the Nationalists by co-operating too closely with the Spanish and by saying that the Moors are not yet fit for self-government. Appointed Minister of Social Affairs in the Khalifian Government in January 1955, a post which he is only allowed to retain as long as he toes the Spanish line. This has rendered him even more unpopular with members of his party. Visits Tangier frequently.

18. Si Allal el-Fassi

Leader of the (French Zone) Independence Party (*Hizb el Istiqlal*). An educated man who, like most of his fellow Nationalists, has so far shown more gift for speaking and writing than for political organisation, el Fassi, who had been living quietly in Tangier

directing his paper, *Al Ala'am*, came into prominence with his party in 1951 in connexion with the crisis in the relations between the Sultan and the authorities of the French Protectorate, when, Nationalist reactions in the French Zone having been repressed, the initiative passed to the leaders in Tangier. Joined with the leaders of the Reform, Democratic Independence and Moroccan Unity parties to form a National Front in April 1951. He is now in Egypt and unable to return to Morocco.

19. Allal ben Abou

Spanish subject and at one time proposed for the post of Grand Vizier in Spanish Morocco. Is a very rich proprietor and is regarded as the chief of the pro-Spanish moors. Refused to give his allegiance to the new Sultan in August 1953.

20. Ahmed ben Suda

Representative in Tangier of the Democratic Independence Party, and signed the National Front pact in April 1951 on behalf of his leader, Mohammed Hassan el Wazzani. Went to Egypt with the latter in August 1951. Is a Nationalist of many years' standing. Was in Paris 1954-55 engaged in unofficial negotiations with the French. Was a member of the Democratic Independence Party Delegation interviewed by the French Government Representatives at Aix-les-Bains on August 23, 1955.

21. Abdelkader ben Omar Barrada

One of the richest merchants in Tangier. Native of Fez. Was blacklisted during the war, but always kept up friendly relations with the French Consulate by whom he appeared to be treated with considerable respect, in spite of the fact that he had acquired Spanish nationality. He has now fallen into disfavour with the French having become a Nationalist and the representative in Tangier of the Democratic Party of Independence.

22. Mokhtar ben Seddik Ahardan

Born 1897. Has been local chief of the Moroccan Unity Party in Tangier since 1940, and has always had a reputation for greater sincerity than his leader Mekki Nasiri. Since August 1953 has consistently exercised a restraining influence and been opposed to violence. Married with no children.

23. Abdelatif ben Ahmed Tazi

Born in 1907. Appointed Moorish Judge on the Mixed Tribunal in 1953. Was appointed Judge on the Cherifian High Tribunal in 1934 and was later Delegate of Social Affairs in the Cherifian Government at Rabat. Has the reputation of being sound and honest.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JM 1902/1

No. 47

TANGIER: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Mr. Muntz to Mr. Macmillan. (Received October 15)

(No. 80. Confidential) *Tangier,*
Sir, *October 5, 1955.*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the Heads of Missions at Tangier for the year 1955.

I have, &c.

T. G. A. MUNTZ.

Enclosure

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

Belgium

M. Stéphane Halot (arrived February 1955), Consul-General with the personal rank of Minister. Born in 1897, served in the forces 1914-18 and entered the Belgian Diplomatic Service in 1920. Has served at Prague, Berlin, Paris, Ankara and New Delhi, where he was appointed Ambassador in 1951. After a nervous breakdown there he became Head of the Protocol Department in Brussels in 1954.

He is a pleasant and intelligent colleague, but does not at present seem very interested or energetic. He is thought to have been overcome by the loss of his charming wife from cancer about 1951, and gives the impression of being a much older gentleman than he is.

France

Le Baron Robert Barbara de la Belloterie de Boissesson (arrived December 1954), Consul-General with the personal rank of Minister.

Born in 1905, he served in Warsaw, Paris, the Far East and Rome. He was appointed Délégué in Tunis in 1951 and promoted Minister in 1953. While in Tunis he suffered some heart trouble and consequently prefers a quiet and abstemious life.

Married with several small children. He and his wife, both of whom could be described as charming, speak some English. Though he is not a dominating character, he is a very pleasant and reliable colleague.

Italy

M. le Comte Francesco Macchi di Cellere (arrived February 1952), Consul-General with the personal rank of Minister.

*M. Macchi di Cellere, aged about 50, graduated in law in 1926 and joined the Italian Diplomatic Service in 1928. He served at The Hague, on the Disarmament Commission at Geneva, as Secretary at Addis Ababa, and in the Consulates at Menton and Colombo. During the war he was in Rome, where, according to his own statements, he was not very prominent as he was never an enthusiastic Fascist. In 1946 he went as Counsellor to Athens and after a short time in Belgrade returned to Rome

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in 1949, where he was in the "Bureau de Co-ordination" of the Secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (Written in 1952.)

He is energetic, quick in the uptake, and appears very anxious to co-operate with the United Kingdom, which was useful in 1952-54, as he seems to have a flair for seeing the real motives behind apparently innocent manoeuvres. His somewhat Neapolitan negotiating qualities have, however, made him unpopular with most of his colleagues and during 1955 he has proved regrettably slippery.

Netherlands

Dr. H. H. Dingemans (arrived April 1954), Consul-General with the personal rank of Minister.

Born in 1907, he is a Middle Eastern expert and an Arabic scholar. After holding appointments in Jeddah and Djakarta, he was, in 1950, appointed Head of the African and Middle Eastern Section of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1953 he went as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Coronation of King Feisal II.

Dr. Dingemans, who will be President of the Committee of Control in 1956, has not been quick to understand the spirit of the Committee. His occasional lapses in tact have not endeared him to his colleagues and there is some disposition to doubt whether he really understands French adequately. He is nevertheless reasonably co-operative in his dealings with the British.

Like his wife, he is of a retiring disposition.

Portugal

Senhor Manuel de Cunha Pimentel Homem de Mello (arrived August 1952), Consul-General with the personal rank of Minister.

*A man of about 51, Senhor Homem de Mello was last employed in the economic side of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon. He has served in Hamburg and Berlin. Sent down partly to support the Portuguese Administrator, Senhor Archer, of whom he is a distant relative, he was at first rather noisy and bellicose. He is still noisy, but found it difficult to support all the Administrator's actions. Though not brilliant, he has proved himself reasonably impartial and courageous enough to stand up for his principles from time to time. (Written in 1953.) He has been very friendly and helpful to us.

He is married and has children. He speaks no English. When not buttonholing his colleagues, he is socially as loudly talkative as his wife is quiet.

Spain

Señor Don Cristóbal del Castillo (arrived September 1945), Consul-General, promoted to personal rank of Ambassador in 1953.

*Señor del Castillo joined the Spanish Diplomatic Service in 1917. He was Minister-Counsellor in Paris before the war and Minister in Athens before serving here as Consul-General from 1942-44, when

he was appointed Assistant Under-Secretary in Madrid. After the Paris Conference in 1945 he was reappointed Consul-General in Tangier. During the war he is said to have given the impression of being anti-British, but on his return to Tangier in 1945 he frequently spoke of the need for co-operation between Spain and the United Kingdom and the United States. Recently, though aggressive for Spanish claims, he has been very friendly. There is no doubt that he feels Spain has a right to a predominant voice in the affairs of the International Zone, and that, put in its worst light, she has expiated her sins of illegal occupation by an over-long sentence. His ambition is to see Spain restored as nearly as possible to her pre-war position in this Zone before he retires. (Written in 1952.) He had, I believe, great influence in Madrid as far as Morocco is concerned; but recently it has seemed that this is by no means as great as it was.

*He suffered from bad health for several years and in 1952 was obliged to attend to business in his home and sometimes in bed. He was absent for medical treatment for four months in the winter of 1952-53. His long experience of Morocco (thirty years on and off), his rather Jesuitical interpretation of a country gentleman's codes, and his undoubtedly very acute intelligence, make him a colleague to be treated with care, however pleasant

and friendly he may be. (Written in 1952.) He detests social affairs and only attends (briefly) those functions at which he will be seen by large numbers of his compatriots.

*His wife, who is a delightful little party from Bilbao, speaks English. They have one son who studied for a year or more in England (written in 1952) and is now in the Ministry of Commerce in Madrid.

United States

Mr. Julius C. Holmes (arrived June 1955), United States Diplomatic Agent with the rank of Minister and Consul-General.

Born in 1899, educated at University of Kansas. Entered United States Foreign Service 1925 and served at Marseilles, Izmir, Tirana, Bucharest, Washington. On active service from 1942-45. Brigadier-General at Allied Force Headquarters, North Africa, Italy, and at Supreme Headquarters in Europe. Minister in London for five years. He has British, French and Moroccan decorations. Married, two sons, one daughter.

He is a most helpful and pleasant colleague and has already made an impression here as likely to be the best representative of his country for many years.

CHAPTER V.—TUNISIA

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

JF 1013/3

No. 48

QUARTERLY REVIEW, NOVEMBER 1954-JANUARY 1955

Mr. Williams to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received February 9)

(No. 14. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tunis,
February 3, 1955.*

I have the honour to send you herewith my Review of Political Events in Tunisia for the three months ended the 31st of January, 1955.

2. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Tripoli and Benghazi, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat, the United Kingdom Delegation, New York, and to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean.

I have, &c.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

Enclosure

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN TUNISIA No. 1 FOR THE PERIOD NOVEMBER 1, 1954, TO JANUARY 31, 1955

The Franco-Tunisian negotiations arising out of the French offer of home rule continued in Paris throughout the period. Public order in the country was restored after the bandits agreed to lay down their arms. The economic situation showed no improvement and there was increased public concern about mounting unemployment.

The Franco-Tunisian Negotiations

In spite of announcements that agreement in principle had been reached and that the talks were proceeding well and that both sides were anxious to conclude, the agreements were not ready for signature at the end of January. In the last week of January M. Mendès-France and Tahar ben Ammar both attended a series of meetings in an effort to conclude before the debate on North Africa which was due for February 2. At the end of January the Press reported that agreement had been reached on the conventions governing finance, public services and education, and on the majority of the clauses of the general agreement. There was little or no sign of a possible compromise agreement on the politically difficult subjects such as security, the judicial system, on the question of a Tunisian army and of participation in the foreign relations of the Protectorate.

The negotiations were closely followed by the local Press both French and Arabic which, in the absence of official news, frequently contained more rumours than fact. In general the feeling was pessimistic about the outcome, though there was a wave of optimism when the fellaga surrendered at the beginning of December and order was restored in the country and again when Mendès-France himself took a hand in the discussions at the end of January.

The Tunisian delegates kept in close touch with their two leaders in exile, Habib Bourguiba at Chantilly and Salah ben Youssef in Geneva and Cairo. Although it was rumoured that these two men disagreed and that they were likely to split the Neo Destour Party, the French considered that the Tunisians were playing their cards with great skill and using the more extremist demands of ben Youssef to complement Bourguiba's usually more conciliatory attitude.

The majority of the French community in Tunisia were anxious about the outcome of the negotiations because they feared that the French Government was making too many concessions to the Tunisians whose demands, they said, increased whenever a compromise seemed in sight. The minority of Socialists and Independents hoped that Mendès-France would be able to conclude the negotiations before his Government was brought down by the growing Opposition in the French Parliament.

French Residency officials were of the opinion that France had made enough concessions and they feared that the French negotiators in Paris might agree to conventions which would prove unworkable in practice.

Public Order

The military operations against the rebels continued until November 23 when the Resident-General and the Tunisian Government issued a joint declaration guaranteeing that fellaga who surrendered with their arms would not be molested in any way and would be helped to return to normal life. As a result of this offer 2,700 fellaga handed in 2,100 weapons, 100,000 rounds of ammunition and 180 grenades. Those who surrendered included the terrorists who had been active in the Sahel. The curfew which had been imposed in various districts was lifted.

It appears that General de Latour was responsible for persuading the French and Tunisian Governments to make this offer of pardon. The Neo Destour was at first anxious to call in only a part of fellaga bands but the men themselves were tired of the rough life in the mountains in winter and would not be held back. Although no doubt a proportion of the arms were kept in concealment and the French community grumbled that pardon had been given to men responsible for the murder of Frenchmen, the authorities were satisfied that the majority of the fellaga had surrendered and that the offer had put an end to civil unrest without further loss of life. In the process the authorities had learnt the identity of those who had been involved and could keep a watch on them. Although it had got out of hand during the campaign and when offered pardon, the French authorities considered the fellaga movement was almost entirely a Tunisian affair instigated by the Neo Destour.

The Tunisian fellaga appear to have had little or nothing to do with the outbreak of lawlessness in November in the Aurès district of Algeria.

In January some farms in the Kef district were attacked by small armed bands but this was held to be mere banditry and without political significance.

Neo Destour

The Neo Destour held a national congress on November 16 at which two resolutions were adopted; the first stated that the fellaga question was inseparable from the general political problem, that the Tunisians had confidence in their Government, desired calm and were not responsible for the deterioration of the situation. The second motion demanded an end to the state of siege, the military operations, the return of the nationalist exiles and a general amnesty for political offenders and the closing of concentration camps. It had been expected that the extremists would gain control of the congress but these relatively innocuous resolutions seemed to show that more moderate counsels were still influential.

At Christmas Salah ben Youssef in Cairo said that the negotiations were going badly and that France must bear the blame if the talks broke down. He followed this up with a statement from Geneva published here at the New Year in which he accused the French of having no intention of fulfilling their promise to give home rule to Tunisia and laid down minimum Tunisian demands which, if accepted by the French, would have set a time limit to the agreements and ensured that Tunisia controlled her own police, justice, finance and army. This would leave to the French the control of Tunisian foreign relations and little else. This statement which was not disavowed either by the Tunisian delegates or by Bourguiba created more disturbance in Paris than in Tunisia where it was accepted as part of an attempt to improve the bargaining position of the Tunisians in case they should have to deal with a more conservative French Government after the fall of Mendès-France.

Although Bourguiba and Salah ben Youssef appeared to be working together over the negotiations there were recurrent reports that they had quarrelled and that ben Youssef and the more extreme members of the party had gained control.

The Resident-General

General de Latour was frequently in Paris in connexion with the negotiations. He was largely personally responsible for the offer of pardon to the fellaga which brought them in and ended the rebel activity. He was also able to announce on November 28 that he had obtained funds from Paris for public works to occupy some of the unemployed. He attended the funeral of the five French soldiers who had been taken prisoner and later killed by the fellaga and whose corpses were discovered in January, and in his speech gave warning that disorder would be severely dealt with.

The Palace

Apart from seeing the various delegates on their frequent journeys from Paris and keeping in touch with the progress of the negotiations, the Bey took little part in public life during the period.

The Tunisian Government

The Tunisian Ministers on November 22 joined with the Resident-General in asking the fellaga to lay down their arms and in guaranteeing that those who did so would not be molested. On the return of the Tunisian delegates from Paris between January 14 and 25 the Ministers held a series of meetings in Tunis, at one of which the representatives of the trade unions, the Tunisian Chambers of Commerce and the Neo Destour were present, in order to provide a final briefing of the delegates for their discussions with Mendès-France.

Labour and Trade Unions

The Union Syndicaliste des Travailleurs Tunisiens (U.S.T.T.) held a congress on November 4 which was attended by Benoit Frachon, secretary-general of the C.G.T. The congress opposed the principle of secret negotiations and demanded an end to the policy of repressing both of which demands were later repeated by the Tunisian Communist Party which no doubt inspired them.

In November the Union Générale des Fonctionnaires Tunisiens (U.G.F.T.) published a White Book demanding the integration of the French public servant in Tunisia in the metropolitan service and a guarantee that France would take over financial responsibility for their pensions if Tunisia failed to honour its promises in this respect. The union of the teachers took issue with this demand and there was a squabble ending in the expulsion of the teachers from the U.G.F.T. The U.G.T.T. plan to commemorate the death of Farhat Hached on December 5 by a mass demonstration was vetoed by the Resident-General. At the meeting held at the U.G.T.T. headquarters the speakers protested as much against the Tunisian Government for not intervening in the question as against the ban itself.

There were several small strikes in the mines, the municipal services and the employees of the Habous, all caused by wage claims.

Unemployment

Although no figures for unemployment in the country as a whole are published, it was generally admitted that unemployment was increasing. The Resident-General obtained funds from France for public works "*chantiers*," which were expected to give work to 10,000 men for three months. Partly in order to provide employment in the central districts, the Tunisian Government agreed to allow the picking of esparto grass for a two-month season. It had previously been decided that no grass should be plucked this year in order to allow the fields to recover from earlier over-plucking.

Press

The Residency-General suspended several Arabic papers during the period but all had been allowed to resume publication by the middle of January 1955. Libyan demands that the French troops should leave the Fezzan provided the local French Press with the excuse to suggest that Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government were deliberately being unhelpful instead of using all their influence to induce the Libyans to withdraw their demands.

JF 1892/5

No. 49

VISIT OF HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR IN PARIS TO TUNIS,
APRIL 12-18, 1955

Mr. Williams to Mr. Macmillan. (Received April 26)

(No. 31. Unclassified)
Sir,

*Tunis,
April 20, 1955.*

I have the honour to report that Sir Gladwyn Jebb, G.C.M.G., C.B., Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris, accompanied by Lady Jebb, Miss Vanessa Jebb and the Honourable R. E. L. Johnstone, paid a visit to Tunisia between the 12th and 17th of April, 1955, as the guests of the Resident-General.

2. The Ambassador and his party arrived in the aircraft of the Air Attaché, Air Vice-Marshal Selway, from Nice in the evening of the 12th of April. The party dined privately at my house.

3. On the 13th of April his Excellency called on General Boyer de Latour du Moulin, Resident-General of France in Tunisia, and laid a wreath on the tomb of the unknown soldier in Tunis with the appropriate military honours. He then called on His Highness Sidi Lamine Pacha, the Bey of Tunis. The call was returned by the Bey's Chef de Protocol, General Tahar Maoui. After lunching privately with the Resident-General the Ambassador laid a wreath at the Imperial War Graves cemetery at Massicault and visited the archaeological museum at Le Bardo. The Resident-General gave a dinner at the Residency in Tunis at which the Tunisian Ministers, French Directors in the Tunisian Government and leading members of the French and Tunisian communities were present.

4. On the 14th of April the Ambassador exchanged calls with the Acting Prime Minister, his Excellency Sadok Mokeddem. During the morning the Ambassador had interviews with his Excellency Ali Bouhageb, the former Minister of Health in the Kaak Ministry in 1948, with his Excellency Dr. Hadi ben Rais, Minister of Commerce in the Baccouche Ministry of 1952 and Conseiller du Gouvernement Tunisien, with M. Victor Michel, President of the French Chamber of Agriculture, Dr. Jean Tremsal, Premier Vice-Président de la Municipalité de Tunis, and with M. H. de Montety of the Committee for Franco-Tunisian co-operation. He also received the representatives of the British Chamber of Commerce in Tunisia. After lunching informally at the house of the Minister Delegate the party visited Carthage and later attended a reception at the Consular residence in La Marsa, followed by a buffet supper.

5. On the 15th of April the Ambassador left on a tour of the south and visited Sousse, Monastir, El Djem and spent the night at Djerba. On the 16th of April he visited Zarzis, Medenine and the Matmata in the Southern Territory which is under French military administration. He returned to Sfax in the evening after a brief visit to Gabès. On the 17th of April the Ambassador visited Kairouan and returned to Tunis in the evening where he was entertained informally at the Residency-General at La Marsa. The tour gave his Excellency an opportunity of meeting some of the French Contrôleurs Civils and the Tunisian administrators and of discussing local problems with them.

6. His Excellency left Tunisia for Algiers by air on the 18th of April.

7. During the period of the visit the Franco-Tunisian negotiations unfortunately required the presence in Paris of the Tunisian Prime Minister and of several of his colleagues and of the Resident-General, who had to leave unexpectedly for consultations in Paris in the evening of the 14th of April when the Minister Delegate, M. Roger Seydoux, returned to Tunis to replace him.

8. A copy of this despatch has been sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris.

I have, &c.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

CONFIDENTIAL

JF 1013/5

No. 50

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN TUNISIA FOR THE PERIOD
FEBRUARY 1 TO APRIL 30, 1955

Mr. Williams to Mr. Macmillan. (Received May 5)

(No. 34. Confidential)
Sir,

*Tunis,
May 2, 1955.*

I have the honour to send you herewith my Review of Political Events in Tunisia for the three months ended the 30th of April, 1955.

2. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, Her Majesty's Ambassador, Tripoli and Benghazi, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat, the United Kingdom Delegation, New York, and to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean.

I have, &c.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

Enclosure

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN TUNISIA
FOR THE PERIOD FEBRUARY 1 TO APRIL 30, 1955

The Franco-Tunisian negotiations were almost concluded by the beginning of Ramadan when a protocol of agreement was signed. The budget for 1955-56 showed an increased deficit. Fears of a famine caused by failure of the harvest from drought were in part dispelled by rain. Measures were taken to give relief to the unemployed.

The Franco-Tunisian Negotiations

2. The delegates failed to reach agreement before the debate on North Africa on the 5th of February which brought about the fall of Mendès-France. His successor, M. Faure, stated that he would continue the Mendès-France policy as regards Tunisia and that he would not seek to reopen discussion on any points on which agreement had been reached. The talks were resumed on the 15th of March in an atmosphere of general goodwill and with the hope that agreement could be reached before Easter or at least before the beginning of Ramadan and the reassembly of the French Parliament. Difficulties arose over the future administration of the Southern Territories and over the French representation on the municipal councils and it was feared that a deadlock had been reached. On the 21st of April M. Faure had a long interview with Habib Bourguiba and as a result a protocol of agreement was signed. The Tunisian delegates then returned to Tunis for the fast of Ramadan.

3. The protocol stated that subject to the agreement of the Bey and of the French Parliament agreement in principle had been reached on the general agreement, its preamble and its five annexes, the convention governing personal status, the judicial convention and its two annexes, the convention on technical assistance and on contracts, the cultural convention and the economic and financial convention. It was agreed that the delegates should meet to initial these agreements and to discuss outstanding questions which were mainly of a technical nature not later than the 30th of May. The details of the conventions were not published.

4. It was announced that Habib Bourguiba would be permitted to travel freely in France. Bourguiba stated that he was in favour of the protocol and would be prepared to defend the agreements which had been made. He also stated that he did not intend to return to Tunisia for the time being.

5. The question of a double citizenship for French and Tunisians was to be examined.

CONFIDENTIAL

6. The signing of the protocol of agreement was accepted as tantamount to the conclusion of the Franco-Tunisian conventions. The reactions of both French and Tunisians were expected to be unfavourable as they had been unfavourable to the offer of pardon to the fellagas in November. It was hoped by the Residency-General that the period of Ramadan would give both sides time to accustom themselves to the idea of the compromise solution of the problem and so facilitate the initialling and early ratification of the conventions before the summer recess. Having, it was hoped, disposed of much of the grievance of the civil servants by a promise of integration in the metropolitan cadres the Residency turned to endeavouring to reassure the colons and the French business men whose opposition to the conventions had been much less vocal. The Residency had however some private misgivings about the security of the French community under Tunisian home rule.

7. The absence of texts of the agreements did not prevent the representatives of the French community from raising the cry that they had been abandoned and from stating that they considered the agreements to be null and void. By the end of April, however, *Tunisie France* was reporting that the Tunisian question had disappeared from the headlines in the metropolitan Press and the leaders of the Rassemblement Party were preparing for the battle against ratification. The lack of violent incident on the occasion of the public officials strike on April 19 was taken by the authorities to mean that local French opposition to the new order would be less than had been feared. A public meeting of protest was held on the 30th of April in Tunis at which some 6,000 persons were present. The meeting expressed disapproval of the agreements but stated that opposition to ratification would be conducted legally and without resort to force for the time being.

8. After an initial hesitation pending the signal from Bourguiba in Paris the Tunisians hung out flags and celebrated their victory. Tahar ben Ammar and the Tunisian delegates returning from Paris were careful to stress that Tunisian home rule did not mean any loss of security for the French residents in Tunisia. Salah ben Youssef, who was attending the Asia-African Conference at Bandoeng, made common cause with the Old Destour, Cairo Radio and the Communists in opposing any agreement which did not give Tunisia complete control of security and justice. *As Sabah*, the Neo Destour newspaper, did not comment on ben Youssef's opposition to Bourguiba but contented itself with regretting that the Resident-General had not marked the signing of the protocol by releasing all political prisoners.

The Resident-General

9. On the 12th of February the Resident-General drew attention to the position of the country and to the danger of famine arising from the drought. Supplies of food were promised by the French Government and funds for relief work provided for the unemployed, particularly in the Centre and South. Rains during March and April, although too late to save the cereal harvest in the Centre and South, should have averted a general crop failure and the danger of a famine. The economic outlook for the year, however, remains poor.

10. General de Latour who was frequently called to Paris for the negotiations was made a titular member of the Conseil Supérieur de la Guerre for 1955 and was also awarded the *Ahed el Aman* by the Bey.

The Tunisian Government

11. Tahar ben Ammar spent much of his time in Paris where he took part in the negotiations first with M. Mendès-France and later with M. Faure.

12. In February Tahar ben Ammar and other members of his Government made a four-day tour of the Centre and South inspecting the areas most severely hit by the drought and explaining to the people the problems which were causing difficulty in the Franco-Tunisian negotiations.

The Budget

13. After approval by the French Government the budget was sealed by the Bey on the 31st of March. Expenditure, after some drastic pruning, was estimated at 43,400 million francs and revenue, which included 1,500 million francs of non-recurring items, was estimated at 39,900 million francs. The deficit of 3,500 million,

francs, an increase of 1,000 million francs over 1954-55, will be met by the French Government. The capital investment budget was set at 13,000 million francs as the French Government had agreed to increase its contribution by 1,000 million francs.

14. A commission is to examine the question of administrative reform.

Labour and Trades Unions

15. The Union Générale de Travailleurs Tunisiens (U.G.T.T.) held a national congress on the 8th of February at which it passed resolutions demanding internal autonomy and a programme of social reform. After the signing of the protocol of agreement the U.G.T.T. demanded the lifting of the state of siege, the suppression of the special courts and the liberation of political prisoners. They also referred to long-standing claims for better wages and conditions.

16. On the 19th of April the Union Générale des Fonctionnaires Tunisiens (U.G.F.T.) called a one-day strike to protest against the impending Franco-Tunisian agreements. The Tunisian Government issued a communiqué reminding the functionaries that political strikes were illegal and would not be tolerated and drawing attention to the penalties which strikers might incur. The strike passed off quietly and was in general successful. The Residency-General announced that the French Government were prepared to reconsider their refusal to agree to integration in the metropolitan cadres of French public servants in Tunisia. This announcement, together with the assurance that there would be no victimisation of the strikers gave the U.G.F.T. much of the security it had been demanding. A delegation of the U.G.F.T. left for Paris to discuss the conditions of integration.

17. The Residency-General and the Tunisian Government set up chantiers to give work to the unemployed who were variously estimated to number between 200,000 and 500,000. There were reports from various parts of the country of attacks on bakeries and of some armed robberies of isolated farms but in general the country remained quiet.

Visits

18. Sir Gladwyn Jebb, Her Majesty's Ambassador in Paris, visited Tunisia between the 12th and 18th of April and made a brief tour in the South.

19. M. Paul Reynaud, President of the Finance Committee of the French National Assembly, visited Tunisia between the 18th and 23rd of April in order to study the economic consequences of the increase in population.

JF 1051/10

No. 51

HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR'S VISIT TO TUNISIA AND ALGERIA, APRIL 12-23, 1955. COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Sir Gladwyn Jebb to Mr. Macmillan. (Received May 12)

(No. 173. Confidential)
Sir,

Paris,
May 10, 1955.

I have the honour to report that, in the company of my wife and elder daughter, I paid an official visit to Tunisia and Algeria between the 12th and 23rd of April. The details of these two visits have, I think, already been reported on by Her Majesty's Consuls-General in the two countries concerned. In this despatch I shall attempt to give a little background and to formulate certain general impressions.

2. At Tunis we were most hospitably received by the Resident-General, General Boyer de la Tour du Moulin, who put us up in the Residency in Tunis itself, though he himself and his wife (who was ill) inhabit another Palace, at La Marsa. Unfortunately the General had to go to Paris the day after our arrival for the negotiations with the Neo-Destour delegation, and did not return before we left. It was clear, however, that he had given instructions for us to be given all the attention and facilities possible and to be free to talk with whomever we liked. All this was facilitated by the Residency staff, largely recruited from the French Foreign Service and directed by that entirely admirable diplomat, M. Roger Seydoux.

3. Although my programme only provided for two days in Tunis itself before leaving on a tour of the south, I had interviews with nearly all the members of the Government who were not in Paris, and with one or two Arab ministers and notables; with the head of the French "colons"; with M. Montéty, an ex-contrôleur civil who has now become a rather enthusiastic "left-wing" supporter of the Tunisian trade unions; with Dr. Tremsal, a vice-president of the Tunisian Municipality and more or less a representative of the "fonctionnaires"; with M. Paye, the Director of Education, and with the Director of Finance. I also had an audience with His Highness the Bey and interviewed some members of his entourage. During my subsequent trip to the south (which lasted three days) I saw a number of Contrôleurs Civils and local Governors, or Caids. I also had talks with

a number of officers engaged in the defence of the "Territoires du Sud." As a result of this carefully planned tour, for the organisation of which the greatest credit is due to Mr. Consul-General Williams, I arrived at the conclusions which follow. I do not pretend that they are anything but superficial judgments, and if Mr. Williams should disagree with any of my remarks I hope he will say so.

4.—(a) Except in the moderately fertile northern section (which is only a very small part of the country) Tunisia is extremely poor. The constant droughts in the south are increasing the tendency of the population to move north and swell the already considerable ranks of the unemployed. Nevertheless, the population increases by about 70,000 or about 3 per cent. per annum. Thus all the efforts of the Administration to extend the area under cultivation and improve the standard of living are of little avail against the constant pressure of the new arrivals. Unless therefore the standard of living is to sink still further heavy subsidies for public works and so forth will be necessary for a long period to come. So far as can at present be seen, it is only France which is both willing and able to supply such subsidies. Nearly all the Neo-Destour leaders and the Caids with whom I talked were acutely aware of this aspect of the situation. For his part, the Director of Finance was extremely pessimistic. According to him, Tunisia had no minerals to speak of; the quality of her one big export (potash) was rather low; while the crops were quite insufficient three years out of four. It follows that under any conceivable régime the main concern of the Government must be to obtain large sums from outside for the industrialisation and modernisation of the country and indeed for food-stuffs without which large numbers of people would be likely to starve.

(b) While therefore the long-term outlook in Tunisia cannot be regarded with any optimism, the local political atmosphere seems at the moment to be reasonably good. The Neo-Destour leaders whom I interviewed struck me as agreeable and essentially reasonable people,

drawn mostly from the ranks of the upper bourgeoisie. What they want is autonomy under the Bey. Having got this they will probably be prepared to give a fair deal to the "colons," anyhow for such time as they can coax subsidies out of the National Assembly in Paris. Nor, for such time, will they worry unduly about the fact that foreign affairs and defence will remain in the hands of the French. Generally speaking, it would seem very much in the French interest to do a deal with this essentially responsible element, and even with Habib Bourguiba, though he is more unpredictable. If indeed the Assembly can be induced to approve the agreement which was arrived at in its broad lines soon after I left; and if the inevitably hostile reaction of the "petits fonctionnaires" is firmly dealt with, I should see no reason why the resulting system should not work, anyhow for a period of years. At any rate, the head of the "colons," M. Michel, whom I saw for half an hour, seemed to be reconciled to some such agreement and thought that if it went through he ought with luck to maintain his 2,000 hectares near Longstop Hill. I fear, however, that the resistance of the fonctionnaires—usually known as the "Clan Corse," owing to the fact that many of them came from Corsica—is likely to be severe and prolonged. These people apparently think that they and their families have a right to be officials of the Tunisian Government for ever. A feature which struck me was the devotion professed by all the Neo-Destour leaders towards the Bey. There was much talk about what a good thing constitutional monarchy was, and how lucky we were in England to have such a system. I gather this is rather a new development on the part of the Neo-Destour; but even if the devotion is not sincere I should have thought the tendency was fairly healthy. Generally speaking, I have no doubt that the moment is ripe for the initiation of an autonomous régime. But if the French Government cannot get the existing Agreements through the Assembly before it rises in early August things may very well alter, and a dangerous situation may again arise.

(c) If, however, a Neo-Destour Government does assume a measure of power in the fairly near future it does not necessarily follow that they will maintain it as a result of any general elections. Rivalry between Bourguiba and Salah-ben-Youssef might result in the machine not working, or (more likely perhaps) the emergence of the trades

unions as a unified political force might put the Neo-Destour into opposition and result in the creation of a government of a more socialist and left-wing character. It appears that, backward country though it is, almost the whole of Tunisia is now "syndicalised," to such an extent indeed that even the unemployed have a trade union of their own. It is to be hoped that this surprising development will not spread to other countries; but it is apparently taken quite seriously in Tunisia where population pressure is likely to result in a permanently unoccupied class. Anyhow, if the trade unionists could organise themselves as a political force there is little doubt that the position of the French, even though they retained command of the Army and (at any rate for some time) of the police, might become increasingly difficult. It is also rather hard to imagine that in such circumstances the French Assembly would be successful in getting the French taxpayer to agree to the provision of heavy subsidies for the development of the country.

(d) From the military point of view, the situation seems at present to be in hand, and I formed a very good impression of the French officers under the command of Colonel de Guillebon, who is responsible for the Territoires du Sud. It was in any case amusing to discover that none of them appeared to be particularly suspicious of the English or to be even conscious of the existence of the alleged "training camps" in Libya organised and supported by the Libyan Government! They admitted that they were rather worried by the problem presented by the smuggling of arms and by the agents who occasionally crossed Libya from their centre in Cairo, but, though they were rather bitter about the Egyptians, they did not appear to be very exercised by the attitude of the Libyan Government. For his part, the general commanding at Sfax, who was in general charge of the operations against the fellaghas last year, told me that in his view it was an entirely new form of warfare which was being undertaken—warfare which was as much political as military. Great care had to be taken in fact by the French military not to irritate the local population beyond a certain extent and always to keep as many as possible on their side. For this reason operations against the fellaghas were not usually carried to the ultimate extreme. I thought these views were significant and interesting.

5. My visit to Algiers was shorter owing to the fact that I arrived with a high

temperature and was largely out of action for two days which meant that I had effectively only four days in the town. Moreover our reception was a very different one from the one we had been given in Tunis. The Governor-General, M. Jacques Soustelle, had not invited my wife and me to stay on the grounds that he did not have enough accommodation; but he certainly put up M. Paul Reynaud in the Palais d'Été the day after we left and we heard indirectly that there was plenty of room. Moreover when I dined with him on the evening of the second day after my arrival for the express purpose of making the speech which had been submitted to him earlier on, he was quite ungracious and only said two words of welcome. To meet me after the dinner he invited the Consular Corps and a few important "colons." There was hardly an Arab in the room. M. Favereau, whom he attached to me during my stay, though most obliging, had only been in Algiers a very short time and did not himself suggest that I should see anybody in particular. I did, however, see a certain number of personalities including the President of the Algerian Assembly and two former Presidents, the Deputy Mayor of Algiers, M. Jacques Chevallier, the General Commanding and Senator Borgeaud, the most important of all the French "colons." At my own request I also saw one (right-wing) journalist and one "évolué" Berber (see below). Owing to my indisposition we had to put off the trip to Bou Saada, an oasis in the South of Algeria, which would also have entailed our seeing something of the Kabyle (Berber) country.

6. From these very restricted talks it was difficult to form any considered judgment, but my rather fleeting impressions were as follows:—

(a) I have no doubt at all that from the French point of view the Algerian problem, though it may be less acute, is in the long run much more difficult than the problems presented either by Tunisia or Morocco. In these last two places indeed there are at least the remains of an indigenous political system and a certain number of educated bourgeois. In Algiers there is no central tradition of any kind and only a long history of piracy in the coastlands and feuds between Arabs and Berbers in the mountains. Technically, as we all know, the three Departments of Oran, Algiers and Constantine are Departments of Metropolitan France; but in practice only the

1½ million white inhabitants possess a vote, the other 8 millions or so consisting of Mohammedans who are only able to elect the same number of deputies as the white community—in other words they possess one-tenth of the voting power of the whites.

(b) Broadly speaking there seem to be only two possible ways in which the situation can develop. Either the French push on (at a far more intensive rate) with education, by which of course is meant French education, and thus produce more and more so-called "évolués" at the same time increasing the representation of Algeria in a Central Parliament in Paris; or they attempt to encourage local autonomy, which would in fact mean that Algeria would be run by the white community in much the same way as the 2½ million whites dominate the Union of South Africa and keep all power in their own hands. The most intelligent and forward-looking Frenchman in Algiers whom I met was undoubtedly M. Jacques Chevallier who has been responsible for an immense housing project in Algiers which seems to be both artistically and economically admirable. He is strongly in favour of producing more and more "évolués" and putting them increasingly in positions of authority. I doubt however whether he would think that in the long run you can really make Frenchmen out of 8 million Moslem inhabitants of Algeria, a view strongly held by M. Farès, a Berber, who it seems may have a chance of becoming President of the Algerian Assembly.

(c) In any case all plans for the future in Algeria, as in Tunisia, are overclouded by the annual increase in the population, which is no less than 250,000 for the three Départements. However much the French may increase the education programme, therefore, the fact remains that there will be a large number of illiterates in Algeria for a long period to come. Moreover there is little or no Arab education, as there is in Tunis. In other words very few of the Arab or Berber inhabitants, who speak Arabic, can read or write it. On the other hand there is a constant efflux of Algerians to the Metropolis and the unassimilated Moslems now in France itself appear to number between 300,000 and 400,000.

7. It was not perhaps very surprising that in these circumstances I was unable to discover anybody who had any very definite convictions about the future of Algeria.

Perhaps the revolutionaries, known as the M.T.D.A., the party of Messali Hadj, know where they want to go to; but I could hardly seek them out on an official visit, and anyhow I believe they are quite unorganised and (as yet) not very important. Nearly all those I saw, more especially in view of the population problem, tended to be pessimistic. It seems quite possible, therefore, that of the two alternatives propounded above the second may eventually carry the day, more especially as there are at least a million French colons firmly dug in along the coastal plain who are prepared to fight for their "rights" rather than submit to majority Moslem rule.

8. All this, however, is, I think, for the future. For the time being I believe that the probabilities are that the French will suppress the rising in the Aurès and that owing to the widespread illiteracy and indifference of the population, nothing much in the way of an organised nationwide revolt is likely for some time to come. In the meantime it is indeed difficult to know exactly what the French Government should best do; but I suppose that they ought, if necessary, to continue to subsidise the country with a view to its more intensive industrialisation, create as many "évolués" as possible with a stake in the land, and go on hoping for the best. In any case suggestions that the French should "withdraw" from Algeria or that they should hand over power to the very largely illiterate Moslems seem to be merely foolish, in the sense that neither operation would be agreeable to any conceivable French Government except a Communist one. It was chiefly for this reason, I take it, that I was authorised to make the statement about France in the speech which I made in the Governor-General's house on the 19th of April, the text of which forms the enclosure to this despatch.⁽¹⁾

9. On the whole my speech was—not unnaturally perhaps—well received in North Africa and indeed in the French metropolitan press, though certain of the political commentators in their broadsheets maintained that it was really an insidious attack on French colonial policy. It was, of course, essential to me to insert the paragraphs about the British system for dealing with non-self-governing peoples and to convey a strong hint that the French would be well advised to follow our example at any rate in Tunis and Morocco.

But as I said in the speech itself, Algiers does present a separate problem for the reasons given above. It is interesting to note that the Governor-General, to whom out of courtesy I sent a copy of my speech in advance, endeavoured to induce me to change a sentence in the original paragraph dealing with Algiers so as to indicate that in my view *all* the Moslem inhabitants of Algeria felt themselves to be French citizens "in the full sense of the term," a phrase which I had originally proposed to apply to "some hundreds of thousands." I informed the Governor-General through his representative that I could not possibly say something which would imply that an illiterate Moslem peasant in the Aurès was practically indistinguishable from an inhabitant of the Ile-de-France and though I offered to put in some phrase about the Moslem inhabitants of Algeria being Frenchmen "from the juridical point of view," or something to that effect, this was unacceptable to M. Soustelle, so my phrase had to be omitted. On my return to Paris I found that the Governor-General had complained to M. Pinay about my attitude and had misrepresented the facts. I therefore took the matter up with M. Massigli and eventually received a letter from him more or less apologising for M. Soustelle's attitude and saying that M. Pinay entirely appreciated my point of view.

10. As a final reflection on my tour as a whole, may I say that I do not think we can possibly afford to let the situation deteriorate in North Africa as a whole without doing our level best to assist the French in their difficulties. If indeed the French should lose their influence in the two "wings" of Tunis and Morocco and their grip over the central and more gallicised region of Algeria, then not only would our strategic situation seem to be imperilled (since the successor states would be only too likely to come under the influence of Communism) but the consequent reduction of France to a small purely European State would be only too likely to encourage neutralist and "Front Populaire" tendencies.

11. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Tunis and Algiers.

I have, &c.

GLADWYN JEBB.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

P10133/12G

No. 52

THE FRANCO-TUNISIAN AGREEMENT

Foreign Office to certain of Her Majesty's Representatives

(No. 95 Intel. Confidential)

*Foreign Office,
May 23, 1955*

On July 31, 1954, M. Mendès-France announced that the time had come for Tunisia to achieve a substantial measure of Home Rule, and that discussions between representatives of the French and Tunisian Governments would begin as soon as possible. Negotiations began in Paris on August 17, 1954, and after a break due to the fall of the Mendès-France Government in February 1955, were concluded on April 21, 1955, with the signing by the two delegations of a protocol to the effect that agreement had been reached in principle on the General Agreement, its Preamble and five Annexes, the Convention governing Personal Status, the Judicial Convention and its two Annexes, the Convention on Technical Assistance and Contracts, the Cultural Convention and the Economic and Financial Convention.

2. The full texts of the Conventions are not yet available but a summary was officially released to the Press by the Resident-General in Tunis on May 6, and a less detailed summary was given by the Quai D'Orsay to Her Majesty's Embassy in Paris about the same time. These summaries reveal that provisional limitations on the internal autonomy of the Tunisian Government are in fact considerable. The main points are:—

- (a) *Defence and Frontiers.*—France retains full responsibility for defence, including control of frontiers and general internal security.
- (b) *French Representation in Tunisia.*—A general political convention provides that the French Resident-General in Tunis will be replaced by a High Commissioner. The latter will be the intermediary between the French and the Tunisian Governments for all matters of common jurisdiction and will protect the rights and interests of French settlers. He will be represented locally by delegates who will fulfil the functions of French "consuls."
- (c) *Council of Arbitration.*—A Council of Arbitration is envisaged in the event of conflict between the two Governments over the interpretation or application of the Agreements. It will be composed of five French and five Tunisian members and the casting vote will be held by one member who may be of any nationality agreed by both sides (what happens if the two sides fail to agree on a member is not stated).
- (d) *Education.*—Two systems of public education will exist side by side: that run by the Tunisian State in which French is to be a compulsory subject except "in the establishments of traditional learning" by which presumably Koranic and similar schools are meant: and that run by the French Cultural Mission in which provision will be made for the study of Arabic. Both systems of education, Tunisian and French, will be open to all and each system will provide the curriculum of the other for such pupils as are desirous of taking it without attending the other. The French will be at liberty to set up private educational establishments.
- (e) *Language.*—While Arabic is to be the official language, French is to enjoy a privileged position in that it will be used side by side with Arabic in legislative texts and regulations and will be employed by the administration in correspondence with non-Arabs.
- (f) *Safeguarding French Cultural, &c., Rights.*—Frenchmen will be free to carry on their cultural, religious, economic, professional and social activities both as individuals and as groups (e.g., trades unions). Laws by which Christian Institutions are at present established may not be altered by the Tunisian Government except with the consent of the French Government.

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(g) *French Representation in Tunisian Institutions.*—It is recognised that Frenchmen in Tunisia just as Tunisians in France are in a different category to foreigners. They are eligible to participate in "Certain Tunisian institutions." They will, for instance, have their own Chambers of Commerce as well as participating with Tunisians in mixed Chambers of Commerce. French representation on Tunisian Municipal Councils will be in varying proportions. The maximum proportion (effective in the case of five large municipalities and five communes) is to be three Frenchmen to four Tunisians. Where the French form one-tenth of the population their proportional representation will be one-third of the councillors. In communes where the French population forms less than one-tenth of the population, but numbers not less than 100, at least one municipal councillor will be French.

(h) *Administrative Tribunal for Officials.*—A Tunisian Administrative Tribunal will be set up to look after the interest of officials. It will have a mixed section on which French and Tunisian magistrates will be represented in equal numbers for dealing with cases involving French officials.

(i) *Justice.*—The Convention on Justice prescribes stages in which judicial powers will be handed over to Tunisians over a period of fifteen years. For the first five years there will be little change except that Tunisian courts will apparently begin immediately to exercise jurisdiction in cases exclusively concerned with Tunisian nationals and after two years mixed courts will begin to exercise jurisdiction in certain mixed cases. In these mixed courts it will be open to the defendant in the first instance to choose the nationality of the President of the Court. If the case goes to appeal, the President may be French if either party so requests. After ten years from the entry into force of the Convention the jurisdiction of the Tunisian courts will be progressively extended although criminal cases involving Frenchmen or foreign nationals and all cases involving personal status of Frenchmen or foreigners will be decided by French courts. Within a period of fifteen years a mixed commission will decide whether conditions exist for a complete hand-over of justice such as is compatible with Tunisian internal autonomy.

(j) *Police.*—There will be no change in the police régime for two years. Then there will be a period during which the Tunisian Government will gradually take over responsibility for the maintenance of internal security while continuing to employ Frenchmen at the head of, and at a number of specified posts in, the police. At the end of twenty years the French and Tunisian Governments will consult together on the proportion of French to be retained in the police.

(k) *Nationality.*—It is declared that the Tunisian Government will in the future be free to make its own nationality laws, but among other reservations it is stipulated that the Tunisian Government "shall not be able to impose Tunisian nationality on Frenchmen or on the descendants of Frenchmen however long established in Tunisia their families might be. Likewise the descendants of Frenchmen born in Tunis in the future shall remain for ever French."

(l) *Status of Foreigners.*—The Tunisian Government will respect the rights and persons of foreign residents, and France will continue "to exercise surveillance over the protection of foreign residents in accordance with treaties and conventions now in force." The Tunisian Government will take the necessary steps to assure to foreigners, within the framework of its internal legislation, the free exercise of their cultural, religious, economic, professional and social activities. It is, moreover, stipulated that during the fifteen years beginning with the entry into force of these Agreements children born in Tunisia of foreign parents, of whom one was also born in Tunisia, shall continue to receive French nationality. The unstated implication is that after fifteen years they will not.

(m) *Tunisian Representation on International Bodies.*—This point is not mentioned in "Le Monde's" version of the Resident-General's hand-out, but is in the otherwise less detailed summary given by the

CONFIDENTIAL

Quai D'Orsay to the British Embassy in Paris. It appears that the French have agreed in due course to present the candidature of Tunisia, by agreement with the Tunisian Government, for membership of certain international organisations. These organisations are not specified.

3. Although the signing of the protocol of agreement has been accepted and hailed as tantamount to the conclusion of the Conventions, its reception by the extremists of both sides and in particular by the French minor Government officials in Tunis, indicate that no time should be lost in achieving ratification as soon as possible so that there will be the minimum period in which the numerous and vocal opponents of the agreement both in France and Tunisia can lobby and work for its overthrow. This has evidently prompted the resumption of the final stages of the talks on May 16, before the end of Ramadan, instead of by May 30, as had previously been announced.

4. In conversation you may draw on the above at your discretion, but you should not volunteer any comments on details. The general line to be taken is that Her Majesty's Government welcomes the conclusion of the agreement as a positive step forward in the improvement of relations between France and Tunisia and as an earnest of happy and peaceful years of co-operation between the two countries in the future.

JF 1013/8

No. 53

REVIEW OF POLITICAL EVENTS IN TUNISIA FOR THE QUARTER ENDED JULY 31, 1955

Mr. Pell to Mr. Macmillan. (Received August 12)

(No. 53. Confidential)
Sir,

Tunis,
August 8, 1955.

I have the honour to send you herewith my review of Political Events in Tunisia for the three months ended July 31, 1955.

2. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, Her Majesty's Ambassador, Tripoli and Benghazi, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat, the United Kingdom Delegation, New York and to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean.

I have, &c.

P. C. PELL.

Enclosure

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN TUNISIA FOR THE PERIOD MAY 1 TO JULY 31, 1955

The Franco-Tunisian Conventions were signed on June 3.

The Franco-Tunisian Negotiations

2. The negotiations, which were interrupted on April 21 at the beginning of Ramadan, were resumed on May 16 rather earlier than had been expected, owing to increased tension in Tunisia. After some last moment difficulties about the Southern Territories and French representation in the municipal councils the agreements were initialled on May 29 and formally signed on June 3. The debate on the ratification was concluded favourably in the Chamber of Deputies on July 9 by a vote of 540 to 43.

The Conventions

3. The agreements provided that Tunisia should have home rule subject to a gradual handover by the French of police powers and judiciary. Defence and foreign affairs remained in French hands. A customs union was set up and Tunisia agreed to remain a member of the franc zone. The post of Resident-General became that of a High Commissioner and special provisions safeguarded French schools, hospitals and officials and the use of the French language.

4. The Conventions were not greeted with enthusiasm either by the French or the Tunisians. For the Tunisians Bourguiba said that they had been accepted in spite of the restrictions which they created on Tunisian internal autonomy, but the Neo Destour regarded them as a fair compromise and would carry them out loyally. Salah ben Youssef and the Old Destour both continued to oppose the conventions as being a hindrance on the road to full independence. The Neo Destour, however, took steps to silence many members of the Old Destour and in Sousse on May 15 an Old Destour meeting was broken up with loss of life.

5. The French officials who had at first been the most vocal of the French opponents of the agreements were almost entirely appeased by the offer of "integration" of the officials in Tunisia into the metropolitan cadres. The main opposition then came from the young men of Présence Française who demonstrated outside the Residency-General on May 7, the anniversary of the Liberation of Tunis and who were thought to be responsible for attacks on three of the pro-Tunisian members of the French community. Their ardour was damped to some extent by the expulsion from Tunisia on May 3 of the leader of Présence Française,

General Rime Bruneau, under the Edit Royal of 1778. The General later returned to Tunisia, but his public utterances were less violent and other leaders of the French community had also moderated their tone and had engaged in the less dangerous method of bringing out members of the French Parliament for conducted tours of Tunisia during which the various grievances of the community were put to them.

Habib Bourguiba

6. Bourguiba made a triumphal return to Tunis on June 1 when the Neo Destour showed that it was able to control the crowds and to conduct a mass welcome without untoward incident. Bourguiba visited the Sahel and received an endless stream of visitors and deputations. The National Congress of the Neo Destour, at which Bourguiba and Salah ben Youssef were to have confronted each other, was put off until October. Bourguiba professed to be convinced that ben Youssef would eventually be reconciled and that he would accept the verdict of the congress which Bourguiba expected to be in his favour. Bourguiba left for Paris on July 8 in order to undergo a course of medical treatment and was still in France at the end of July.

Public Order

7. A bomb exploded in the premises of the American Information Service in Tunis during the early hours of June 28, causing considerable damage, and later an unexploded bomb was found in the garden of one of the American Vice-Consuls. On the night of July 20 a bomb was thrown into the garden of the house belonging to M. Pignon, Secretary of the Committee for Franco-Tunisian Co-operation. No damage was done to the house and M. Pignon was absent in France at the time. Roads leading into Tunis were then guarded and it was announced three days later that three young men of French nationality had been expelled from the Regency for activities against the public order.

8. By a decree dated July 5 a security zone was set up on the border with Algeria. The necessity for this became evident on July 29, when it was reported that a band of 50 or 60 Algerian fellaga had made attacks upon cars using the road between Thala and Kasserine, in Tunisia.

The Resident-General

9. The Bey signified his approval of the General's services to Franco-Tunisian relations by investing him, on July 28, with the "Ordre du Sang," the highest distinction of the Husseinite dynasty and one given normally only to Husseinite Princes and Prime Ministers.

10. Rumours have been current to the effect that General de Latour will be appointed High Commissioner when the Franco-Tunisian Conventions come into force. The Arab newspaper, *Al Watan*, in an open letter to the General, expressed its satisfaction at this news.

The Tunisian Government

11. It was announced on July 14 that Dr. Tremsal had been relieved of his functions as first Vice-President (French Mayor) of the Municipality of Tunis. No successor has as yet been appointed and all municipal questions, both European and Tunisian, are now in the hands of General Chadly Hayder, Cheikh el Medina.

12. There is considerable speculation as to the form that the new Tunisian Government will take. It is generally thought that Tahar ben Ammar will offer his resignation to the Bey and that the latter will ask him to form a new Government. It is also expected that the number of Ministries will be reduced.

JF 1013/9

No. 54

REVIEW OF POLITICAL EVENTS IN TUNISIA FOR THE THREE MONTHS ENDED OCTOBER 31, 1955

Mr. Williams to Mr. Macmillan. (Received November 21)

(No. 74. Confidential)
Sir,

Tunis,

November 4, 1955.

I have the honour to send you herewith my Review of Political Events in Tunisia for the three months ended the 31st of October, 1955.

2. Copies of this despatch are being sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, Paris, Her Majesty's Ambassador, Tripoli and Benghazi, Her Majesty's Consuls-General at Algiers, Tetuan, Tangier and Rabat, the United Kingdom Delegation, New York and to the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean.

I have, &c.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

Enclosure

POLITICAL REVIEW OF EVENTS IN TUNISIA FOR THE PERIOD AUGUST 1 TO OCTOBER 31, 1955

Just over a year after M. Mendès-France's July 31, 1954, visit to Tunis, the Franco-Tunisian Conventions setting up internal autonomy were ratified and the first all-Tunisian Government since 1881 took office. The nationalist unity appeared to be breaking up. The economic situation showed little improvement.

The Conventions

2. The Franco-Tunisian Conventions, which were initialled on May 29 and signed on June 3, were ratified by the Bey and by the President of the French Republic on August 27. The hand-over of control of internal affairs has proceeded smoothly though, as might be expected, many details remained to be settled.

The Tunisian Government

3. Tahar ben Ammar's Government, which included four French directors, resigned on September 13. The new Government composed of Tunisian Ministers only, which was once more under the Presidency of Tahar ben Ammar, was nominated by the Bey and took office on September 17. Five of the 12 Ministers were members of the Neo Destour, 1 was a Socialist and the remaining 6 were classed as Independents. Bourguiba did not accept office in the Government. The Government, which was criticised for its inactivity, issued a long declaration of policy couched in general terms on October 13. Although the arrangements for holding elections and setting up a Constituent Assembly have not yet been announced, Tahar ben Ammar's Government can only be regarded as a provisional transitional administration.

4. General de Latour, the last French Resident-General in Tunisia, was transferred to Morocco on August 27 and left immediately. M. Roger Seydoux, the former Minister Delegate at the Residency-General, was appointed as first French High Commissioner in Tunisia on September 14.

The Beylical Family

5. Sadok Bey, the Bey du Camp, heir to the throne, died suddenly on October 1, 1955. The new heir is Hessine Bey, the brother of Moncef Bey, who was deposed in 1943.

The Neo Destour

6. The unity of the Tunisian nationalist movement showed signs of breaking up. Salah ben Youssef returned to Tunisia on September 13 and, contrary to

local expectation, maintained his outspoken opposition to the Franco-Tunisian Conventions. A speech in this sense made at the Grand Mosque on October 7 caused the Neo Destour political bureau to declare that Salah ben Youssef was no longer Secretary-General of the Neo Destour and to expel him from the party. Salah ben Youssef maintained that this decision was *ultra vires* and that he spoke for the whole nation in opposing the Conventions. As all the Arabic daily papers supported Salah ben Youssef it was difficult to estimate how much real support he had. He did however represent the extreme nationalists and those who resented the rather dictatorial methods of Bourguiba and the political bureau.

7. Bourguiba appeared at first to be on the defensive and in order to get a hearing he revived his old Arabic daily paper *El Amal*.

8. The U.O.T.T., the largest of the Tunisian trade unions, came out, albeit with some reserve, on the side of Bourguiba and the Conventions.

9. The Neo Destour announced that a party congress would be held at Sfax on November 15 at which party differences would be discussed.

Public Order

10. Fellaga from Algeria crossed into the Gafsa district, presumably in search of food, arms and recruits, and the district became insecure. Railway installations at Tabedit and a mine at Brafim were attacked on October 4 and 19 and five Frenchmen were killed. After the October 19 incident the fellaga band was pursued into Algerian territory and heavy losses were inflicted on it. The railway and mine workers demanded better protection and troop reinforcements were sent to the area.

11. By a compromise agreement between the French and Tunisian authorities, although the French High Commissioner is responsible for the security of the country for the next two years, the Tunisians took over the Tunisian constabulary (Oudjak) and assumed charge of public order with the right to call in French police and troops in case of need. The French maintained the right to intervene to restore order in cases of emergency.

12. There were frequent cases of hooliganism in the towns, due mainly to unemployment. The former Tunisian fellaga demanded recognition of their services and the Ministry of the Interior promised them special identity cards and relief payments until jobs could be found for them.

13. The State of Siege which came into force in Tunisia on September 1, 1939, was lifted on September 21, 1955.

Economic

14. The commercial slump continued. After the return of Salah ben Youssef and as a result of his opposition to the Conventions, the growth of confidence and the timid beginnings of Franco-Tunisian co-operation received a setback. The cereal harvest was below average for the country as a whole, the olive crop was expected to be poor and the grape harvest was patchy. The abundant September rains led to increased ploughing and sowing of grain but in the north at least there was too much rain for the time of year. The number of unemployed was said to be about 400,000 and although increased credits of some 7 milliard francs were made available by France this could only be regarded as a palliative.

15. A Consultative Commission of Ministers, experts and representatives of the trade unions and Chamber of Commerce set up three sub-committees to examine the development plan for 1956-57, for which capital investment of 26 milliard francs would be necessary.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

JF 1012/1

No. 55

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN TUNISIA

Mr. Williams to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 14)

(No. 44. Confidential) *Tunis,*
Sir, *June 30, 1955.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith a report on the leading personalities in Tunisia, amended to June 30, 1955.

2. In view of the probable institution in the near future of internal autonomy in Tunisia and of a Government comprised solely of Tunisians, the report has been rearranged to show the Tunisians separately from the French. The number of Tunisian names has been increased somewhat.

I have, &c.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

Enclosure

Leading Personalities in Tunisia

INDEX

Tunisians

1. Abdul Wahab, Hassan Hosni
2. Adhari, Dr. Ali el
3. Ammar, Tahar ben
4. Baccouche, Salaheddine Ben Mohamed
5. Badra, Mohamed
6. Barouch, André
7. Belhaouane, Ali
8. Belkhiria, Taieb
9. Belkhodja, Abdel Kader
10. Bessis, Maître Albert
11. Boudali, Nouri
12. Bouhajib, Ali
13. Bourguiba, Maître Farid
14. Bourguiba, Maître Habib
15. Chadly Bey, Prince
16. Chenik, M'hamed
17. Denguizli, M'hamed
18. Djait, Abdelaziz
19. Djaziri, Sadok
20. Djellouli, Azziz
21. Djellouli, Labib
22. Essadok, Bey, Prince Mohamed
23. Ferhat, Maître Saleh
24. Ghachem, M'hamed
25. Haddad, Maître Charles Jacob de Moise
26. Hadjouj, Mohamed ben Younes
27. Haydar, General Chadly
28. Kaak, Mustapha
29. Khalifa, Salah ben
30. Lakdar, Tahar
31. Lamine Pasha Bey, His Highness Sidi Mohamed, Bey of Tunis

18718-27 48485

32. Maoui, General Taher
33. Masmoudi, Mohammed
34. Materi, Dr. Mahmud
35. Mehiri, Taieb
36. Menchari, Abdelaziz
37. Mekkadem, Dr. Sadok
38. M'Zali, Mohamad Salah
39. Nouira, Hedi
40. Okbi, Maître Moncef el
41. Rais, Hadi Ben
42. Rhaim, Chedly
43. Romdane, Dr. Chedly ben
44. Saadallah, General Mohamed
45. Said, Naceur ben
46. Salah ben Ahmed
47. Salem, Dr. Mohamed Ben
48. Slim, Mongi
49. Sliman, Dr. Sliman ben
50. Youssef, Maître Salah ben
51. Zaouche, Nourreddine
52. Zaouche, Dr. Tahar
53. Zouhir, Maître Fathi

French

54. Blanchard, André
55. Brunet, Louis
56. Cohen-Hadria, Dr. Elie
57. Colonna, Antoine
58. Dupoizat, Georges
59. Duran-Angliviel, Maître André
60. Fraissé, Gaston
61. Gantès, Henri
62. Guillebon, Général Jacques de
63. Latour du Moulin, Général Boyer de
64. Mathieu, Jean
65. Nizard, Maurice
66. Paye, Lucien
67. Perrin, Maurice, Archbishop of Carthage and Primate of North Africa
68. Perrussel, Maître Yves
69. Puaux, Gabriel
70. Seydoux, Roger
71. Smadja, Dr. Henri
72. Tremsal, Dr.
73. Viguié, Raymond

1. Abdul Wahab, Hassan Hosni

Born about 1880. Tunisian notable. Intellectual and patron of Tunisian art and letters. Minister of State in Baccouche Ministry, 1943 to July 1947. Made honorary Minister of State. Tunisian delegate to U.N.E.S.C.O. meeting at Florence in 1950 and Istanbul in 1951. Elected Associate Member of the Royal Institute of Egypt in February 1951.

2. Adhari, Dr. Ali el

Born about 1895. Minister of Labour in the Government of Mustapha Kaak—July 1947 to August 1950.

3. Ammar, Tahar ben

Born 1889 in Tunis. Educated at Lycée Carnot, Tunis. Agriculturalist and landowner. President of the Tunisian Chamber of Agriculture. President of the Grand Conseil. Member of the Bey's Committee of forty in August 1952. One of the signatories of the protest against Voizard's March 4 Reforms in 1954. Appointed President of Council of Ministers, August 8, 1954. Took an active part in Franco-Tunisian negotiations, 1954-55 and was one of the signatories of the Agreement. Generally regarded as a moderate nationalist and a conservative.

4. Baccouche, Salaheddine Ben Mohamed

Born at Tunis in 1883. Member of old family of Beni Khair. Related to the present Bey. Widely respected, genial elder statesman. Educated at Lycée Carnot. From 1904 to 1941 in local administrative service, ending as Caid of Sousse. On liberation of Tunisia appointed Prime Minister on 15th May, 1943, in which position he served until 1947. Made honorary Prime Minister. Again Prime Minister between 28th March, 1952, and 2nd March, 1954, when he was made Government Counsellor.

5. Badra, Mohamed

Born in 1900 at Tunis. Educated at the Sadiki College, the Lycée Carnot, Tunis, and in France (literature). Civil servant in Administration, later in Ministry of Justice and subsequently in charge of the Secretariat of the Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture of North Tunisia. In 1943 was in charge of the "cabinet" of Prime Minister Chenik. In 1948 appointed administrator of the Banque de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie.

Entered second Chenik Government in August 1950, as Minister for Social Affairs. Was in Paris with Prime Minister in October-December 1951 to discuss Tunisian problem with French Government. On 13th January, 1952, went again to Paris with Saleh ben Youssef this time to lay complaint against France before the United Nations. On removal and dismissal of Prime Minister Chenik at the end of March 1952, Badra left Paris suddenly with ben Youssef and succeeded in reaching Cairo. Was present, with Saleh ben Youssef, at United Nations meeting at New York in October-November 1952, when Tunisian and Moroccan questions were brought before the United Nations by the Arabo-Asiatic States. Later returned to Cairo.

Returned to Tunis on June 1, 1955 with Bourguiba.

6. Barouch, André

Born about 1906. Jew. Businessman with political ambitions. Part-owner of *Le Petit Matin*. Supporter of Néo-Destour. Regarded as somewhat unscrupulous. Vice-President of the Tunisian Chamber of Commerce.

7. Belhaouane, Ali

Born about 1924. Licencié en droit. Néo-Destourian. Active party worker in charge of Néo-Destour youth movement.

8. Belkhiria, Taieb

Born 1889. Expert Arab and French scholar. Since 1910 has filled various administration posts in the Tunisian governmental service; and since 1943 has been one of the heads in the Ministry of State. Minister of State in Baccouche Government, 1952 to March 1954, when he was appointed honorary Minister of State. Is an officer of the Légion d'Honneur.

9. Belkhodja, Abdel Kader

Born 1906. Minister of Agriculture in Kaak Government, July 1947 to August 1950. On ceasing to hold office was made honorary Minister of Agriculture by the Bey, and appointed a representative to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation—a selection strongly criticised by the nationalists with whom he was unpopular. Minister of Agriculture in the Mzali Ministry 2nd March to 5th July, 1954.

10. Bessis, Maître Albert

Born about 1885. Jew. Former Bâtonnier of the Tunis Bar. Member of one of the prominent Tunisian Jewish families. Served as Tunisian expert in the Franco-Tunisian negotiations. Was considered to be a likely choice for first Tunisian Minister of Finance.

11. Boudali, Nouri

Born about 1916. Trade union leader. Succeeded the late Farhat Hached as secretary of the U.G.T.T. in 1953. Represented the U.G.T.T. on the Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Brussels. Previously employed in Public Health Department.

12. Bouhajib, Ali

Born about 1895. Minister of Public Health in Kaak Government, July 1947 to August 1950. Member of a leading Tunisian family (see Salah ben Khalifa). Tunisian delegate to World Health Organisation, 1952.

13. Bourguiba, Maître Farid

Lawyer, journalist. Banished to his native place, Beja, for a period in the summer of 1951 for scurrilous articles against General Juin over Moroccan question.

14. Bourguiba, Maître Habib

Born at Monastir in 1903. Educated at the Sadiki College, Tunis, and in France where studied law. Admitted to Tunisian bar in 1930. Leader of Destour nationalist party; spent a number of years abroad in Egypt and France. Married to a French lady. After split of Destour party into Néo- and Vieux-, became secretary-general of stronger and more influential Néo-Destour nationalists in 1934 and President during the war. Has been interned by French from time to time since 1934. Visited United States at the end of 1946 and returned to Tunis from Egypt in September 1949. Was prepared to negotiate with French and accept reforms leading to internal autonomy as stage on road to complete independence. Was nevertheless ready to recognise special relationship between Tunisia and France. By temperament somewhat *exalté*; an ideologist, self-important. In 1950 was the recipient of marks of high consideration by the Bey.

In spring and summer of 1951 made prolonged tour of a political character—Egypt, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Italy, United Kingdom, Sweden and the United States. In the United Kingdom and the United States made speeches, broadcasts and gave press interviews that aroused strong comment amongst the French. Was later refused entry into Morocco. Early in January 1952 returned from Paris to Tunis where on 18th January was arrested upon the orders of the new Resident-General, M. de Hauteclocque, on grounds of having by violent speeches encouraged outbreaks of lawlessness by nationalist followers. Was sent to Tabarka with several other nationalist leaders, arrested at the same time, and at end of March, at the time of the dismissal of Prime Minister Chenik, was transferred to Remada in southern Tunisia. Was later transferred to the island of La Galite, thence in May 1954 to

the Ile de Groix (Morbihan) and to Chantilly. He was a strong influence behind the scenes in the Franco-Tunisian negotiations in 1955 and after an interview with M. Faure he gave his support to the Agreement. Made a triumphal return to Tunisia on June 1, 1955. Generally referred to as "Le Combattant Suprême."

15. Chadly Bey, Prince

Born about 1909 (1328 A.H.). Eldest son of His Highness Lamine Pasha Bey, Bey of Tunis. Personable and prominent. Has taken a leading part in supporting nationalist aspirations and is credited with being one of his father's most influential advisers. In February 1951 appointed Director of the Personal Cabinet of the Bey, but was deprived in 1952 of this post when his personal relations with the Residency-General became very strained. He was later reinstated.

16. Chenik, M'hamed

Born in Tunis in 1890 of a family of "Chorfa," descended from the Prophet. Father and forebears important merchants. He himself, after secondary education, pursued his studies in commerce, specialising in economic and financial questions. Member of the Grand Conseil from its inauguration, and served as its secretary. In 1924 was elected President of the North Tunisian Chamber of Commerce; in 1925 Vice-President of the Tunisian section of the Grand Conseil, which post he occupied until 1943. Made Prime Minister in 1943 by then Bey, Moncef Pasha Bey, but he remained aloof from political life from the Liberation until called to be Prime Minister in August 1950. Widely respected, particularly for his loyal association with Moncef Bey, but has unimpressive personality. Is reputed to be a wealthy landowner. After prolonged negotiations with the Resident-General, M. Perillier, came to an agreement over a set of reforms which were promulgated on 8th February, 1951. Difficulties arose between French Administration and Tunisian Ministry with result that little progress made in implementation of reforms. Went to Paris in October 1951, bearer of note from the Bey to the President. Remained there, together with several of his Ministers, until nearly the end of December, when returned after receipt of French Government's reply of 15th December, 1951. This reply was regarded by him and Tunisian nationalists generally as most unsatisfactory. He maintained an unco-operative attitude towards the new Resident-General, M. de Hauteclocque, and was arrested, together with three other Ministers, on 26th-27th March, 1952, and removed to Kebili in south Tunisia. A successor, Salaheddine Baccouche, appointed as Prime Minister by the Bey. Was released, as were other members of his Cabinet, later in 1952 upon giving an undertaking not to interest himself further in politics.

Appointed Chairman of the (Néo-Destour) Committee against Famine and Want in 1955.

17. Denguizli, M'hamed

Born 1899. Has filled various posts in the caidal service since 1926. Caid of Siliana, 1943 to 1952. Minister of Labour in the Baccouche Ministry, April 1952 to March 1954, when he was appointed honorary Minister of Labour. Is a Grand Officer of the Légion d'Honneur. Is brother-in-law to Taieb Belkhiria (q.v.).

18. Djait, Abdelaziz

Born about 1905. Minister of Justice in Kaak Government, July 1947 to August 1950. Appointed Cheik el Islam (Head) of the Malekite rite.

48485

19. Djaziri, Sadok

Born 1899. Expert Arab and French languages. Professor of law and eminent jurists, who has held several judicial appointments. Minister of Justice in the Baccouche Ministry, April 1952 to March 1954, when he was appointed honorary Minister of Justice. Is a Grand Officer of the Légion d'Honneur.

20. Djellouli, Mohammed el Azziz

Born December 1896. A member of one of the old Tunisian administrative families. Educated at Lycée Carnot and Algiers Law School. Entered Caidal service in 1925. Resigned in 1940 after Armistice. Appointed Cheik el Medina of Tunis in 1942 and Minister of Habous in 1943 by Moncef Bey. After Moncef Bey's deposition in 1943 he lived in retirement until appointed Minister of State in Tahar ben Ammar's government in August 1954. Delegate at the Franco-Tunisian negotiations. Said to be in poor health.

21. Djellouli, Labib

Formerly Minister of Justice in the Baccouche Ministry to July 1947. Then made honorary Minister of Justice.

22. Essadok Bey, Prince Mohamed

Born 17th March, 1888. Son of Mustapha Bey. Succeeded as Bey du Camp (next in succession to the Beylical throne) on the 5th July, 1953, upon the assassination of his elder brother Prince Azzeddine Bey on the 1st July, 1953. Not a prominent political figure; believed to be anti-Néo-Destour but not (unlike his late brother) Francophil.

23. Ferhat, Maître Saleh

Former Minister of Justice, President of the Vieux-Destour Party. Went to Paris in the autumn of 1951 to try to interest the United Nations in the Tunisian question.

24. Ghachem, M'hamed

Born 1898. Educated as doctor in Tunisia and in France. Has practised his profession at Sousse for 26 years, and was a municipal counsellor there when appointed Minister of Health in the Baccouche Ministry, April 1952 to March 1954, when he was appointed honorary Minister of Health and Government Counsellor. Is a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur.

25. Haddad, Maître Charles Jacob de Moise

Born 1910 in Tunis. Jew. Lawyer. President of the Jewish community of Tunis. Was criticised by many Jews for siding too openly with Néo-Destour. Ambitious but rather a light-weight.

26. Hadjouj, Mohamed ben Younes

Born 1895 at La Goulette. Son of General Younes Hadjouj. Honorary Ministre de la Plume. Educated in Tunis and at the Faculté de Médecine, Paris. Is one of the Bey's private physicians. Connected by marriage with family of Ali Bouhajib (q.v.). Both he and his wife speak English well. Is a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur. Minister of Commerce in the Mzali Ministry, 3rd March to 5th July, 1954.

27. Haydar, General Chadly

Born about 1904. Is Sheikh-el-Medina, or Head of the Municipality of the Arab City of Tunis. Of mixed racial origin being descended from a Greek grandfather, a sailor shipwrecked on the Tunisian coast, a Turkish grandmother and a Caucasian mother. Is related to the Beylical family. Friendly.

28. Kaak, Mustapha

Born about 1880. Prime Minister from 1947 to August 1950. Very unpopular with nationalists of all shades as being supine and tool of the French "imperialists." Resignation and replacement by M'hamed Chenik gave great satisfaction to nationalists, just as subsequent conferment of honours upon him and his appointment by the French in an advisory capacity to their delegation to the United Nations caused indignation. Pleasant, cultivated but perhaps somewhat ineffective. Lawyer and *bâtonnier* of the Tunis bar.

29. Khalifa, Salah ben

Born about 1912. Is the Caid-Gouverneur of Sfax. A member of a prominent Tunisian family, landowners. Is son-in-law of Ali Bouhajeb (q.v.).

30. Lakdar, Tahar

Born 1908 in Tunis. Educated at Franco-Arab School, the Grand Mosque and Lycée Carnot in Tunis and the Faculté de Droit in Paris. Doctor of Law and member of Tunis Bar. Formerly a member of the Néo-Destour. Minister of Justice in the Mzali Ministry 2nd March to 5th July, 1954.

31. Lamine Pasha Bey, His Highness Sidi Mohamed, Bey of Tunis

Born at Tunis on 4th September, 1881. Son of Sidi Mohamed el Habib Pasha Bey, who reigned from 1922-29. Ascended the Husseinite throne on 15th May, 1943, in succession to Moncef Bey, deposed. Has three sons, of whom the eldest is Prince Chadly (q.v.), the others being Prince Mohamed and Prince Salah Eddine, and a number of daughters. Lamine Premier, as he is sometimes designated, has identified himself increasingly since 1949 with the Tunisian nationalist movement. In 1952, regarded as being largely under the influence of small Palace clique, mainly composed of members of his family led by Prince Chadly Bey, of strong nationalist sentiments. During 1952 and early 1953 relations between Palace and Residency-General were increasingly strained. He welcomed the appointment in September 1953 of M. Voizard as resident-general and with him negotiated the reforms of 4th March, 1954.

The failure of these reforms caused him to renew his support for the nationalists.

32. Maoui, General Tahar

Born about 1905. Is Chef de Protocole to the Bey of Tunis *vis-a-vis* French authorities and foreign representatives, and invariably represents His Highness at public functions. Is sociable, well disposed. Has family connexion with the Bey, but has risen to present position from a junior post in the secretariat-general.

33. Masmoudi, Mohammed

Born May 1923 at Mahdia. Educated at Collège Sadiki and Sorbonne (License es Lettres and Diplôme des Sciences Politiques). Journalist. Delegate of Néo-Destour in Paris, 1949-54. Member of Executive Committee of People's Congress against Colonialism and of International Confederation of Moral Rearmament. Appointed Minister of State in Tahar ben Ammar government, August 1954. Delegate at the Franco-Tunisian negotiations.

34. Materi, Dr. Mahmud

Born at Tunis in 1896. Son of an Imam of the Mosque El Ksar. Received secondary education at the Sadiki College, after which he was a school-teacher for a time. In 1922 he took his *licence* in science and 1926 his degree in medicine. He subsequently exercised his profession in Tunis.

Entering politics he became President of the Néo-Destour. In M'hamed Chenik's first Government in 1943 he was Minister of the Interior, but on the Liberation he retired from political life until in August 1950 he became Minister of State in Chenik's second Government. Towards the end of March 1952 was arrested, together with Prime Minister Chenik and two other Ministers, by the new resident-general, M. de Hauteclouque, and removed to Kebili where detained pending formation of a new Ministry. Released later in 1952 on giving undertaking not to take part in politics.

35. Mehiri, Taieb

Born about 1924. License es Lettres. Active Néo-Destour party worker.

36. Menchari, Abdelaziz

Born 1896. Expert Arab and French scholar. Has filled various administration posts in the Tunisian governmental service; and since 1943 has been Caid of Kef. Minister of Agriculture in the Baccouche Ministry, April 1952 to March 1954, when he was appointed honorary Minister of Agriculture. Is an officer of the Légion d'Honneur.

37. Mokeddem, Dr. Sadok

Born 1915 in Tunis. Educated at Lycée Carnot and Paris. Doctor of Medicine. Formerly President of the Association of North African Students in Paris. Assistant at Sadiki Hospital. Member of Néo-Destour political bureau. Member of Bey's Committee of forty in 1952. Arrested December 1952 by the French and released November 1953.

Appointed Minister of Tunisian Justice in Tahar ben Ammar government, August 1954.

38. M'Zali, Mohamad Salah

Born at Monastir in 1896. Educated at the Sadiki College and the Lycée Carnot. Doctor of Laws. Also graduate of Lyon. Held important post in the Ministry of Justice from 1922 to 1934, when he was appointed Caid of Bizerta. In 1943 became Minister for Religious Endowments; Minister for Social Affairs in 1945. He was Minister of Commerce and "Artisanat" in the Kaak Government, and on M'hamed Chenik becoming Prime Minister, was the only Minister to retain his seat, holding the same portfolio in the new Government. Energetic, intelligent, good administrator and good-humoured.

Towards the end of March 1952 was arrested together with Prime Minister Chenik and two other Ministers, by the new resident-general, M. de Hauteclouque, and removed to Kebili, where detained pending formation of a new Ministry.

Released later in 1952 on giving undertaking not to take part in politics. Represented the Bey in the negotiation of the 4th March reforms and became Prime Minister and President of the Council of Ministers, 2nd March to 5th July, 1954.

39. Nouira, Hedi

Born April 1911 at Monastir. Educated at Sousse and Paris where he studied law and was delegate of Néo-Destour. Joined Tunis Bar in 1937. Elected Secretary of C.G.T.T. (later U.G.T.T.). Arrested in 1938 and transferred to France. Liberated by Germans, 1942. Returned to Tunis, 1943. Arrested April 1952, detained at Remada and Djerba until September 1952. Rearrested March 1953 but soon conditionally released, and allowed to go to Paris. Resigned position of Assistant Secretary-General of Political Bureau of Néo-Destour in 1954 on grounds of ill-health. Appointed Minister of Commerce in Tahar ben Ammar's government, August 1954. An intellectual and a moderate and somewhat doctrinaire.

40. Okbi, Maître Moncef el

Son of a former President of the Tunis Municipality. Lawyer. Of doubtful morality in both public and private life. Is a drug addict and is said (by a Residency official) to have been sentenced in 1949 to two years' imprisonment for drug trafficking. Other scandals attached to his name in recent years. Is opportunist, of no particular political party but is believed to be francophil. Was elected Second (i.e., Tunisian) Vice-President of the Tunis Municipality in May 1953, in succession to the late Chedly Kastally, assassinated a few days earlier.

41. Rais, Hadi Ben

Born 1899. Is a doctor of medicine, educated in Tunisia and France; and is the private doctor of the Bey (as he was of several of the Bey's predecessors). Minister of Commerce in the Baccouche Ministry, April 1952 to March 1954. Appointed honorary Minister of Commerce and Government Counsellor. Is a Grand Officer of the Légion d'Honneur.

Francophile. Violently opposed to Néo-Destour. His wife is French.

42. Rhaim, Chedly

Born 1910 at Béja. Educated at Tunis and worked as agriculturalist. Owner of large farm near Béja. Founded Agricultural Workers' Trade Union in 1936. Arrested 1953, condemned by military court to six months' imprisonment and a fine for articles in *Tunis Socialiste*. Elected member of Grand Conseil, 1945 and President of its Cultural Affairs Committee. Member of directing committee of Section Française d'Internationale Ouvrière. Elected to Tunisian Chamber of Agriculture. Appointed Minister of Labour in Tahar ben Ammar government, August 1954.

43. Romdane, Dr. Chedly ben

Born 1902 at Mahdia. Throat specialist. Studied at Faculté de Médecine in Paris. Is a Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur. Married into the old and wealthy Guellaty family. His brother Mohamed was president of the Tunisian section of Cultural Affairs Committee of the Grand Conseil. His brother Hamed is Caid of Soliman and another brother Djilani Caid of Mateur.

Appointed Minister of Labour in the Mzali Ministry 2nd March to 5th July, 1954.

44. Saadallah, General Mohamed

Born at Kairouan in 1886. Long service in subordinate administrative posts, until he became director of Religious Endowments from 1932 to 1941. Subsequently he held important appointments under the Ministry of Agriculture, until in August 1950 he became Minister of Agriculture in M'hamed Chenik's second Government. Was in Paris with the Prime Minister during October-December 1951, to discuss Tunisian problem with the French Government. Towards the end of March 1952, when Prime Minister Chenik and three other Ministers were arrested and removed to Kebili, Saadallah, owing it was said to ill-health, was not sent away but kept in house arrest, pending formation of new Ministry. Released later in 1952 on giving undertaking not to take part in politics. Minister for Moslem Institutions in Mzali Ministry, 2nd March to 5th July, 1954.

45. Said, Naceur ben

Born about 1889 at Kebili of a tent-dwelling family. Educated in Tunis at St. Cyr and at Saumur. Served as lieutenant in Spahis in 1914-18 war. Caid. Served in all the posts in the south and from 1941-47 at Sfax. Sheep and camel breeder and owner of large palm plantation near Kebili. Pleasant and

friendly. Appointed Minister for Housing and Town Planning in Tahar ben Ammar government, August 1954.

46. Salah, Ahmed ben

Born 1926 at Moknine. Educated at Collège Sadiki and Sorbonne. Professor Adjoint de Langues et Lettres Arabes at the Collège de Sousse. Trade unionist. In Paris in 1951 with Farhat Hached and then employed at the Secretariat of the World Federation of Independent Trade Unions in Brussels until 1954. Returned to Tunis in April 1954 and was elected Secretary-General to U.G.T.T. in July 1954.

47. Salem, Dr. Mohamed Ben

Born at Radès in 1915. Educated at the Lycée Carnot, Tunis and at the Sorbonne. Qualified in medicine in the Faculty of Medicine, Paris, where he remained from 1934 to 1941. In 1944 married Princess Zakia, daughter of His Highness the Bey, Sidi Lamine Pasha Bey. In August 1950 he entered the second Chenik Government as Minister of Health. Towards the end of March 1952 was arrested, together with Prime Minister Chenik and two other Ministers, by the resident-general, M. de Hauteclouque, and removed to Kebili where detained pending the formation of a new Cabinet. Released later in 1952 on giving undertaking not to take part in politics. Appointed Minister for Public Health in the Mzali Ministry 2nd March to 5th July, 1954.

48. Slim, Mongi

Born Tunis 1908 of a bourgeois family. Educated in Tunis and Paris. Lawyer. Secretary of the Néo-Destour since 1937. Arrested April 1938, removed to south of France and released by Germans in 1942. Went to Rome and returned to Tunis in 1945. Elected director of Néo-Destour, 1945. Arrested in 1952 and detained in south until January 1954. Succeeded Nouira (q.v.) as secretary of Political Bureau of Néo-Destour. Under house arrest May 28 to June 2, 1954. Appointed Minister of State in Tahar ben Ammar government, August 1954. Leader of Tunisian delegation in Franco-Tunisian negotiations and signatory of the agreement with ben Ammar.

49. Sliman, Dr. Sliman ben

Born about 1912. Leading member of the Tunisian Communist Party, of which he was elected President in October 1950. Was elected member of Tunisian delegation to the abortive World Peace Conference at Sheffield; went to the Warsaw Conference where he was elected to the World Council for Peace. Was reported to have visited the U.S.S.R. earlier in 1950. President of the Tunisian Committee for Peace and Liberty. Addressed letter of protest and headed deputation of protest to Her Majesty's Consulate-General in October 1951 over events in Egypt. During constitutional troubles in Tunisia in January 1952 was one of six leading Communists arrested by the new resident-general M. de Hauteclouque, and sent to Remada in south Tunisia. Released after several days owing to poor health.

50. Youssef, Maître Salah ben

Born at Djerba in 1909. Educated at the Lycée Carnot, Tunis, and the Faculty of Law, Paris where he was *licencié* in 1933. In 1934 he took to politics, joining the Néo-Destour Party whose secretary-general he became in 1945 on the departure of Habib Bourguiba (q.v.) for Egypt. He entered the second Chenik Government in August 1950 as Minister of Justice, a political development of significance in view of Maître Salah ben Youssef's prominence in the Néo-Destour Party. One of the more active of the Ministerial group that aided Prime Minister Chenik in negotiations with the resident-general in

1950 and early 1951. In autumn of 1951 was in Paris with Chenik for purpose of pursuing Tunisian question with the French Government. On 13th January, 1951, left with Badra for Paris to endeavour to bring the Tunisian question before the United Nations. On the removal and dismissal of Chenik at the end of March 1952 Youssef left Paris suddenly with Badra and succeeded in reaching Cairo. Was present with Mohamed Badra at United Nations meeting at New York, October–November 1952 and 1953, when Tunisian and Moroccan questions were brought before the United Nations by the Arabo-Asiatic States. Later returned to Cairo. Toured India, Ceylon and Indonesia in spring 1954 and attended Afro-Asian Conference at Bandoeng as Tunisian Nationalist Observer in 1955. In 1954–55 he was at Geneva and was frequently consulted by the Tunisian delegates at Franco-Tunisian negotiations. He opposed the agreement and announced his intention to return to Tunisia in order to continue to fight for complete independence.

51. Zaouche, Nourreddine

Born Tunis 1908. Educated at Lycée Carnot, Tunis, and obtained a diploma as chemist in Paris. Former president of Tunis Chemists Guild.

Minister of Housing and Town Planning in Mzali Ministry, 2nd March to 5th July, 1954.

52. Zaouche, Dr. Tahar

Born 1904 in Tunis. Educated at Lycée Carnot and Medical School in Paris. Practised in Tunis from 1933. Head of Throat Clinic at Hôpital de la Libération. President of the Syndicat des Médecins Tunisiens. Appointed Minister of Health in Tahar ben Ammar government, August 1954. Tunisian representative at W.H.O. Conference in 1955.

53. Zouhir, Maître Fathi

Born about 1920. Lawyer. Néo-Destourian. His appointment as member of ben Ammar government in 1954 was not acceptable to French. Appointed Directeur du Cabinet to President of Council of Ministers.

54. Blanchard, André

French official. Director of Postal Services. Born 1906. Educated at Lycée, St. Louis, and Ecole Polytechnique. Entered Department of Post, Telephones and Telegraphs and served at Paris and Nancy. Appointed to Tunis in 1953. Married. Is Chevalier of Légion d'Honneur.

55. Brunet, Louis

Leading member of the *Rassemblement Français* or French residents in Tunisia. Was one of their two representatives ("senator") to the Council of the Republic, Paris. Ceased to hold this office in the summer of 1952, when Gabriel Puaux (q.v.) was elected in his place. Has since lived in retirement in Tunisia. The other, and senior, "senator" is Antoine Colonna (q.v.).

56. Cohen-Hadria, Dr. Elie

Born about 1902. Medical practitioner (dermatologist) also journalist. Is the federal secretary of the Tunisian Socialist Party. Has considerable local standing; is well known to former French President, M. Vincent Auriol. Writes leaders for the Socialist weekly *Fraternité en Tunisie*. Now known as *Tunis Socialiste*.

57. Colonna, Antoine

A Corsican. Leader of the party representing French vested interests in Tunisia, the *Rassemblement Français*. Is the senior of the two representatives ("senators") to the Conseil de la République, Paris, the other being Gabriel Puaux (q.v.). Is

indefatigable in leading the Opposition to the introduction of reforms into Tunisia, especially in lobbying the Quai d'Orsay and other Government departments and political leaders in Paris.

58. Dupoizat, Georges

Born in 1909. Former officer of Saint-Maizent. Studied law and Arabic, in both of which he holds diplomas. Served for several years in Morocco in bureau of native affairs. Entered prefectural service. Has Légion d'Honneur, Croix de Guerre and Resistance Medal. Was Préfet at Belfort, when appointed to succeed Raymond Pons as secretary-general to the Tunisian Government in March 1953.

59. Duran-Angliviel, Maître André

Lawyer, journalist, politician. Has been in Tunisia since 1905. Before that was a Protestant pastor in France. Is a strong partisan of Tunisian nationalism. Has also strong socialist views, verging on communism. Himself declares he is not Communist, but a sympathiser. Wrote leading article about thrice weekly for *Le Petit Matin*, but discontinued this in March 1952 when official censorship introduced. Strongly opposed to nationalist campaign of violence and outrage. He resumed writing in November 1953, when the censorship was lifted. Owing to ill-health he retired to France in 1954, but continued to contribute a weekly article to *Le Petit Matin*.

60. Fraissé, Gaston

French official. Sous directeur in Finance Administration. Seconded to Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Director of Finance in Tunisian Government since 1948.

61. Gantés, Henri

Born about 1910 in Egypt. Contrôleur Civil at Sfax, where, during the years 1940–42, he was assistant. Is friendly. Speaks English well and fluently.

62. Guillebon, Général de Brigade Jacques de

Army officer. Born in 1909. Served as Chief of Staff of General Le Clerc. Commandant des Territoires du Sud with headquarters at Gabès.

63. Latour du Moulin, Général Boyer de

Born 1896. Enlisted in 5th Dragoons, August 1914. Transferred to 1st Tirailleurs Marocains. Served as officer of Affaires Indigènes in Algeria and Morocco. 1937–39 Cabinet Militaire of Resident-General in Morocco. Commanded a battalion in France and returned to Morocco after armistice in 1940 where he formed the 2nd Group of Tabors Marocains and fought in Tunisia, France and Germany. Commissaire de la République and Commandant des Troupes de Cochinchine. 1951 served with Général Juin as Secrétaire Général aux Affaires Politiques et Militaires du Protectorat Marocain. November 1951 in command of French forces in Austria. March 1954 succeeded Général Garbay as Commander-in-Chief in Tunisia. July 31, 1954, promoted Général de Corps d'Armée and appointed Resident-General in Tunisia. March 1955 appointed titular member of Conseil Supérieur de la Guerre, 1955.

In November 1954 he persuaded French and Tunisian Governments to offer pardon to rebels who surrendered their arms, thus restoring order in Tunisia and facilitating the conclusion of the Franco-Tunisian Agreement. He and his wife, who is a daughter of Général de Langlade, worked hard to bridge the social gap between French and Tunisians. A fervent Catholic. Reserved, and suspicious of foreigners.

64. Mathieu, Jean

French official. Born 1907. Educated at Ecole Polytechnique. Appointed to Public Works Department and served at Bizerta, Bordeaux and Marseilles (Port Director). 1949–50 Director of Public Works in Tunisian Government.

65. Nizard, Maurice

Born about 1904. Secretary of Tunisian Communist Party. Arrested in 1952 and detained in South Tunisia.

Released in August 1954. In poor health.

66. Paye, Lucien

Born 1907. French official. Inspecteur-Général de l'Industrie Publique. Educated Ecole Normale Supérieure. Agrégé de Lettres. Served in Morocco, Algiers and the Ministry of Colonies, Paris. Appointed Director of Education in Tunisian Government in October 1948.

Broad-minded, progressive and energetic. Disliked by the Tunisian Nationalists.

67. Perrin, Maurice, Archbishop of Carthage and Primate of North Africa

Born 1904 at Grenoble. Educated partly in Tunis and at Ecole des Mines de Saint Etienne. Practised as engineer for some years. Ordained priest at Carthage in 1936 and served in Tunis. Army chaplain 1939–40. Returned to Tunis 1943, appointed Curé of Sfax. 1947 created Bishop of Utica and made Vicaire Capitulaire of Carthage in 1953 on death of Archbishop Gounod. Appointed Archbishop of Carthage, October 1953.

68. Perrussel, Maître Yves

Born about 1905. Breton. Honorary M.B.E. for his work as Resistance leader during the war. Is the Territorial delegate of the R.P.F. in Tunisia. Former Vice-President of the Tunis Municipality, a post he resigned in 1950.

Accompanied Mendès-France on his July 31, 1954, visit to Tunisia to offer internal autonomy. Honest. Impulsive.

69. Puaux, Gabriel

Born 1883, son of a Protestant clergyman. French resident in Tunisia elected in the summer of 1952 to succeed Louis Brunet as representative, along with Antoine Colonna (q.v.) of French in Tunisia in the Council of the Republic, Paris. Is an Ambassador, now retired, having served as secretary to the Tunisian Government, High Commissioner in the Lebanon and Resident-General in Morocco.

70. Seydoux, Roger

Born 1908 in Paris. Member of French Foreign Service. Employed at London, Morocco and Ecoles des Sciences Politiques. Assistant Director for Cultural Affairs in Paris. Chef de Cabinet of Leon Blum, 1946–47. Consul-General, New York. Minister in charge of Information in Washington.

Appointed Minister Delegate at Residency-General in Tunis in September 1954.

Protestant. Friendly and forthcoming. Is well considered by French and Tunisians alike.

71. Smadja, Dr. Henri

Newspaper proprietor and director, being owner of *La Presse de Tunisie* and the Paris weekly *Combat*. Jewish. Is doctor of medicine but is believed never to have practised. Has a doubtful reputation in some quarters here. Is native of Tunisia but spends much of his time in France. Has visited the United States several times.

72. Tremsal, Dr.

Born about 1903. Vice-President (French) of the Municipality since the summer of 1950. Has a Tunisian co-Vice-President in Maître Moncef el Okby (q.v.). A leading medical practitioner until he accepted this office, to which he was re-elected in May 1953. Leading member of the Rassemblement des Français Party.

73. Viguié, Raymond

French official. Prefect. Born 1910. Appointed assistant secretary-general of Tunisian Government in March 1954.